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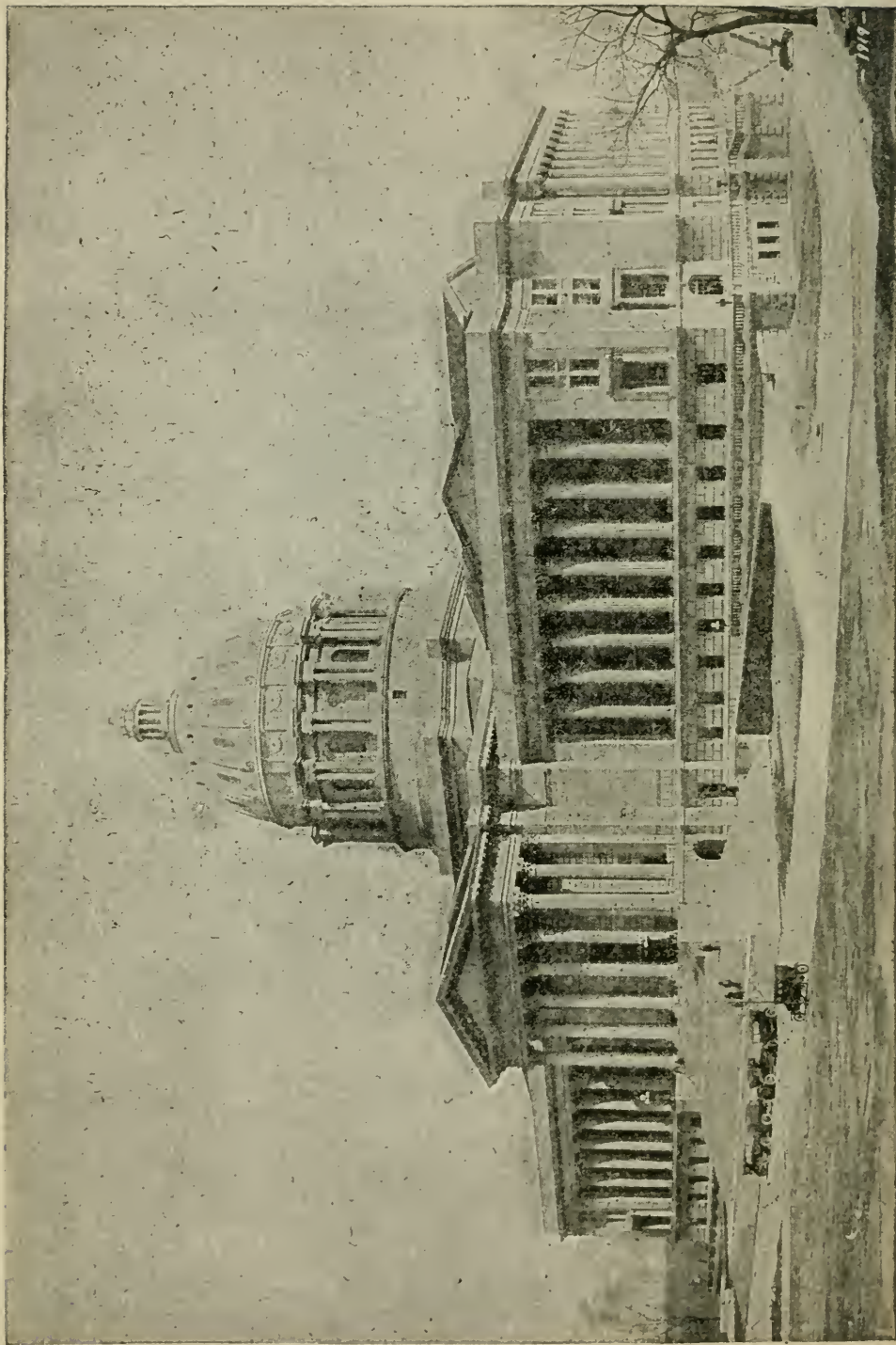


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HISTORY OF MISSOURI

*A Text Book of State History
for use in
Elementary Schools*

BY

C. H. McCLURE, A.M.

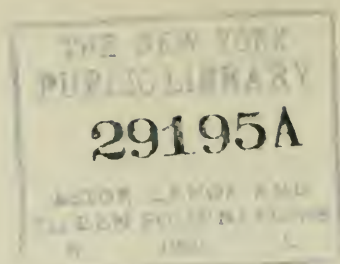
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PREFACE

Much has been said and written recently concerning the teaching of Citizenship. History has long been recognized as a subject which has great value for this purpose. The desire to make loyal citizens of our boys and girls gave History a place in our public schools soon after the Civil War.

For some reason the results obtained in the teaching of History have not been as satisfactory from the standpoint of good citizenship as is desirable. The author believes that one of the chief reasons for the failure to realize these practical results is to be found in both the method and material used in our teaching of History. Good citizenship consists largely in the ability of an individual to adjust himself to the community environment in which he lives. Any community is what it is because of its past. To understand a community it is necessary to know its History. But our Historians usually begin with Columbus, a native of a foreign country and of a different age, and they seldom get closer to the environment of the child than Massachusetts. The well established pedagogical principle of proceeding from the known to the unknown is ignored. A noted educator has said, "We should begin with the boy, where he is, while he is there." State History furnishes the material which connects the life of the child and the local community with events of historical importance in our national life. The growth and development of Missouri is especially closely related to the development of the nation

In the study of Part IV such chapters as "The Co-operative Work Done Through the State" and "The Co-operative Work Done Through Voluntary Organizations," brings the child into contact with many things that affect his local

community. Such topics as the Farm Bureau, The State Board of Health, or The Tuberculosis Association, will give the teacher the opportunity to use the work done along these lines in the community and secure some real historical research work from the boys and girls.

In writing I have tried to keep in mind the things that affect the lives of people in their community groups. If the book tends, as it is hoped it will, to give the boys and girls of Missouri a better appreciation of their State; to help them to understand their environment; to make them realize that they are living in one of the best places in the world; to anchor them to their own community; in fact, to make them better citizens of the great Central State of the Greatest Nation on earth, I shall be satisfied.

I desire to acknowledge my indebtedness to the many friends for their aid in the preparation of the work. Special mention should be made of Mr. E. M. Carter, Secretary of the State Teachers' Association at whose suggestion the work was undertaken; of Mr. Floyd Shoemaker, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Missouri, whose article on the Six Periods of Missouri History furnished the outline for the organization of the book, and who has aided in many ways; to Professor W. W. Parker, Head of the English Department of the Central Missouri State Teachers' College, who read the manuscript; to Hon. Walter B. Stevens and the Missouri Historical Society for permission to use illustrations; to the Political Science Department of the University of Missouri and to D. C. Heath and Company for the use of maps; to Hon. Sam A. Baker, State Superintendent of Schools, who gave valuable suggestions; and finally to many of the students in my classes in Missouri State History who aided in the research work.

October, 1920.

THE AUTHOR.

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HISTORY OF MISSOURI

PART I

MISSOURI BEFORE 1820

CHAPTER I

DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION 1641-1732

The Spanish. The part of the great Mississippi valley now known as Missouri was probably first seen by white men when De Soto's expedition entered the southeastern part of the State in 1541. According to Mr. Houck, he came as far north as Cape Girardeau. Here he took part in some Indian wars and then moved back southwest into what is now Arkansas. He turned northwest and followed the divide running west through Springfield. He followed this directly to the western part of the State. Here he turned back south into Arkansas. De Soto is unimportant so far as Missouri history is concerned except to mark the beginning.

The French. After the departure of De Soto no white man came to this section of the valley for one hundred and seventeen years. In 1659 two French traders, Radisson and Groseilliers, travelling westward from the St. Lawrence, crossed into the Mississippi valley. Then they crossed the Mississippi River and went on westward. The route they followed from the Mississippi toward the Missouri is not definitely known, but it is probable they crossed the country

between the two rivers as far south as the northern boundary of Missouri.

Joliet and Marquette were the next white men to see Missouri soil. They passed down the Mississippi River in the year 1673 to a point farther south than the southern boundary of the State. They may have landed on the western bank of the river at times, both in going down the river and on their return.

The expedition of Joliet and Marquette was followed in 1682 by that of La Salle. La Salle followed the Mississippi River to its mouth and returned to Canada. He, therefore, had to pass along the eastern border of the State twice in making his trip. After his expedition the visits of Frenchmen from Canada became frequent and in a few years some of the Canadian-French moved to the Mississippi valley to live. They settled in villages¹ on the eastern bank of the Mississippi. Thus the settlements were in Illinois instead of in Missouri.

Exploration. There must have been a number of people, curious to find out all they could about the country, who crossed the river and made exploring trips and hunting trips into Missouri. One of these explorers named Du Tisne² started to go up the Missouri River. He got only

¹ Cahokia, a few miles south of East St. Louis, was established in 1699; Kaskaskia at the mouth of the Kaskaskia River in 1700; Fort Chartres, 1720; St. Philippe, 1723; and Prairie Du Rocher in 1733. The three last named villages were between the Kaskaskia River and the Mississippi a few miles from Kaskaskia.

² The following story was told of Du Tisne: He was captured by the Indians and placed in the midst of a group while they were deciding what to do with him. It appeared from the talk that he would be killed for his scalp. Now Du Tisne was a very bald headed man and wore a wig. Catching enough of their conversation to understand what they were

about as far as the mouth of the Gasconade when the Indians forced him back. He floated down the Mississippi to Kaskaskia and landed on the western bank of the river. From there he traveled west across the hills and streams until he came to the prairies in the western part of the State. He then turned north and came to the Missouri River near where Kansas City now stands. From there he floated down the river to the French settlements on the Mississippi. There were other expeditions of this kind. In this way the country on the west side of the river became well known. These early settlers found that there was lead and salt on the Missouri side of the river. They crossed over to make salt and to work in the lead mines back in the hills.

In 1723 the French Government sent an expedition led by Captain De Bourgmont up the Missouri River to build a fort. The fort was named Orleans and was probably located on the southern bank of the river near Malta Bend in Saline County. Fort Orleans was destroyed by the Indians in 1726.

talking about he appeared to become very angry. He told them he would scalp himself. Grabbing his wig, he jerked it off and threw it on the ground in their midst. The Indians were so surprised that a man could scalp himself and still live that they thought him some kind of superior being and gave him presents and allowed him to go free.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER 1

1. What was the probable route of De Soto through Missouri?
2. Why is De Soto's expedition mentioned in Missouri History?
3. What two Frenchmen discovered the upper Mississippi River?
4. What explorers passed down the Mississippi past Missouri? Give dates.
5. When the French first came to the Mississippi valley to live, where did they build their towns?
6. Where did Du Tisne cross the State?

CHAPTER II

SETTLEMENT 1732-1804

French. The first permanent settlement in Missouri was made at Ste. Genevieve, probably in 1732, at least as early as 1735. By that time there were about 5,000 white people and about 2,000 negro slaves in the whole Mississippi valley. The greater part lived on the eastern bank of the river in the Illinois country and around New Orleans near the mouth of the river. Fifteen years later the population had fallen off to 6,000. In 1764 a French merchant named Laclede established a trading post which he named St. Louis¹ in honor of King Louis XV of France. Soon after St. Louis was founded, all the territory east of the Mississippi was transferred from France to England. When the French settlers learned of this transfer, a great number of them

¹ In the summer of 1763 Laclede had brought his family and the goods he expected to trade to the Indians for furs up the river from New Orleans as far as Fort Chartres, about sixty miles below St. Louis. He left his family and stores there. Taking a few of his men and his stepson, Auguste Chouteau, he set out to find a suitable place to build his house and store. He examined the west bank of the river carefully from Ste. Genevieve to a point a few miles above the mouth of the Missouri. Most of the land was too low to suit him. Floating back down the river to a low bluff on the west bank, he landed. Having examined the country carefully, he blazed a tree, called his stepson, Auguste Chouteau, and said to him "As soon as the river is free from ice next spring you will lead a group of workmen to this place and build a house." The next spring, February 15, 1764 Auguste Chouteau, who was not yet fourteen years of age, landed with the workmen and began clearing the ground and was soon building the first house in St. Louis.

moved across the river to Laclede's settlement. After this first movement of settlers across the river, the settlement grew very slowly. In 1790 there were only about 800 people living there.



PIERRE LACLEDE
THE FOUNDER OF ST. LOUIS
Bust in Merchants-Laclede Bank
From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State,
by permission of the Missouri Historical Society

Spanish. By the terms of the Treaty of Paris in 1763, at the same time the French ceded to England all their territory east of the Mississippi they gave the Spanish all of

their territory west of the river. Thus the country that is now Missouri which formerly belonged to France came under Spanish control. When the Spanish took possession, there were only two settlements within the present limits of Missouri, Ste. Genevieve and St. Louis.



AUGUSTE CHOUTEAU

From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State,
by permission of the Missouri Historical Society

Settlement During the Spanish Period 1763-1804. The Spanish during their control created five districts in what is now Missouri. These districts were units for governmental purposes and became the first five counties when the

country passed under American control. During the Spanish period the population increased from about 1,000 to 10,000. The increase was the result of two streams of immigration which flowed into the Missouri country from the east side of the river. The first was from the old French settlements on the Illinois side. There were three causes for this movement: 1. The dissatisfaction of the French because the country east of the river was given to the English in 1763. 2. The lack of sufficient government to protect life and property during and after the American Revolutionary War while the country was ruled by the Continental Congress. 3. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 which prohibited slavery north of the Ohio River. This caused many of the French slave holders to move across the river.

The second stream of immigration was the Americans from Kentucky and Tennessee. This was a part of the great westward movement of the American people which in the space of a little more than a hundred years has changed the American continent from a wilderness in which a few thousand Indians roamed, to a highly civilized country in which are the homes of more than 100,000,000 people. This great movement is well illustrated by the story of Daniel Boone² and his family. It might be equally well illustrated by the family history of almost anyone who lives in Missouri.

² Daniel Boone was born in Pennsylvania in the same year George Washington was born in Virginia, 1732. His father moved with his family of eleven children to western North Carolina, following one of the valleys of the Allegheny Mountains. Daniel Boone married in North Carolina. He later moved to Kentucky where game was more plentiful. Here he lived for a number of years and reared a large family. One of his sons, Daniel Morgan Boone, moved to Missouri and established a settlement on the north bank of the Missouri River about twenty miles west of

New Settlements. We shall consider the new settlements by districts beginning with St. Charles. The first settlement in the St. Charles District was founded about 1780. The town was located on the north bank of the Missouri River about twenty miles from the Mississippi. The founder was a French-Canadian named Louis Blanchette. Portage Des Sioux³ was a French settlement established on the narrow tongue of land between the Missouri and Mississippi on the bank of the Missouri near its mouth.

Another French settlement was located about fifty miles above St. Charles on the Missouri River at a place called LaCharette by the French, but now known as Marthasville. The American settlers did not live in villages as the French did, but lived in farm houses scattered along the creeks that flow into the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers.

The St. Louis District extended from the Missouri River on the north to the Meramec on the south. None of these

St. Charles. Later Daniel Boone and many others of the Boone family followed his son, Daniel Morgan Boone, to Missouri where he lived until his death in 1820. He died in the house of his son Nathan Boone in Marthasville. This house is still standing. Members of the Boone family soon went up the Missouri River to the central part of the State to make salt. The country came to be known as Boone's Lick country. Boonville and Boone County were named in honor of the Boones. Members of the Daniel Boone family scattered through the central part of the State and many of his descendants are now living in Missouri.

³ Portage Des Sioux got its name from an incident that occurred in an Indian war between the Sioux Indians and the Missouri Indians. The Sioux had invaded the Missouri's country near the mouth of the Osage. They had captured much booty and were escaping down the Missouri in their canoes. A force of the Missouri Indians laid an ambush for the Sioux at the mouth of the river. The Sioux learned of the Missouri's ambush; landed on the north bank of the river; carried their canoes across the narrow strip of land to the Mississippi and in that way avoided the Missouri's ambush.

districts were limited on the west. St. Louis, the largest settlement in the district at the end of the Spanish period, 1804, contained 171 houses and about 1,000 people. The French had a settlement at Carondelet about six miles south of the original settlement of St. Louis, but now within the southern part of the city. Another French settlement was located at Florissant about twelve miles northwest of St. Louis. It was established about 1785 and was in 1804 the second town in the district in population. A fourth French settlement had been made at Creve Coeur on the southern bank of the Missouri west of Florissant. Point Labadie about forty-five miles above St. Louis on the south bank of the Missouri marked the westward extension of French settlements in the St. Louis district. The American settlers of the district usually lived in farm houses scattered along the Meramec and the creeks to the south and west of the French settlements.

Between the Meramec on the north and Apple Creek on the south lay the District of Ste. Genevieve. The oldest town in Missouri, Ste. Genevieve, was the most important settlement in the district. At the close of the Spanish period, Ste. Genevieve was the most populous district and for a long time after the country came under the American rule this district was the center of strong French influences in Missouri politics. There were a number of French settlements in the district founded for the most part by the French who moved across the river from the Illinois country. The Americans in this district settled on farms along Apple Creek on the south and the Meramec on the north. They also founded some mining villages to the west of the French settlements. The most important of these was Mine a

Breton, made prominent by Moses Austin,⁴ who obtained a grant of land near the mine and about 1798 introduced American methods of mining.

Cape Girardeau District included the territory lying between Apple Creek and a line running from the Mississippi River westward about half way between the cities of Cape Girardeau and New Madrid. Cape Girardeau, the oldest settlement, was founded by Louis Lorimer⁵ between 1787 and 1795. At the end of the period the district had 1,200 people. The Americans were in the majority.

The New Madrid District lay between the Cape Girardeau District and the present site of Helena, Arkansas, but

⁴ Moses Austin was born in Durham, Connecticut. Before the Revolutionary War he had been a manufacturer of pewter in Richmond, Virginia. He became interested in lead and moved to Wythe County, Virginia, where he engaged in mining lead during the Revolution. He heard of the lead mines of Missouri and went to investigate them in 1796. He moved the next year and engaged in mining and smelting lead on a large scale. From 1798 to 1816 his plant produced 9,360,000 pounds of lead. Austin being a restless man, became tired of his mining operations and went to Mexico where he obtained a large grant of land in what is now Texas. He died in 1821, but his plans for establishing a colony of Americans (mostly Missourians) in Texas, was carried out by his son, Stephen Austin.

⁵ Lorimer was a Tory leader during the Revolutionary War and led some of the Indian attacks against the American settlers in western Pennsylvania and Kentucky. He was a leader among the Indians. His wife was the daughter of a Shawnee chief. After the Revolutionary War he became an Indian trader, first in Ohio, later in Vincennes, Indiana, and finally at Ste. Genevieve, Missouri. From there he moved to Cape Girardeau where he received a grant of land from the Spanish Governor, Carondelet, in 1795.

practically all the white people in this district⁶ lived within the present boundaries of Missouri. The town of New Madrid was founded soon after 1780 by two French-Canadian fur traders named Frances and Joseph Le Sieur. The colony remained small until an American, Colonel George Morgan, attempted to found an American colony in 1789. Although Colonel Morgan failed to get his grant of land approved by the Spanish Government at New Orleans, nevertheless many Americans came to the new colony which he had advertised widely. At the end of the Spanish period the district had a population of 1,500. The total population of all the districts was about 10,000.⁷

⁶ The population by districts in 1804 was as follows:

District	White	Slave	Total
St. Charles.....	1,400	150	1,550
St. Louis.....	2,280	500	2,780
Ste. Genevieve.....	2,350	520	2,870
Cape Girardeau.....	1,470	180	1,650
New Madrid.....	1,350	150	1,500
	8,850	1,500	10,350

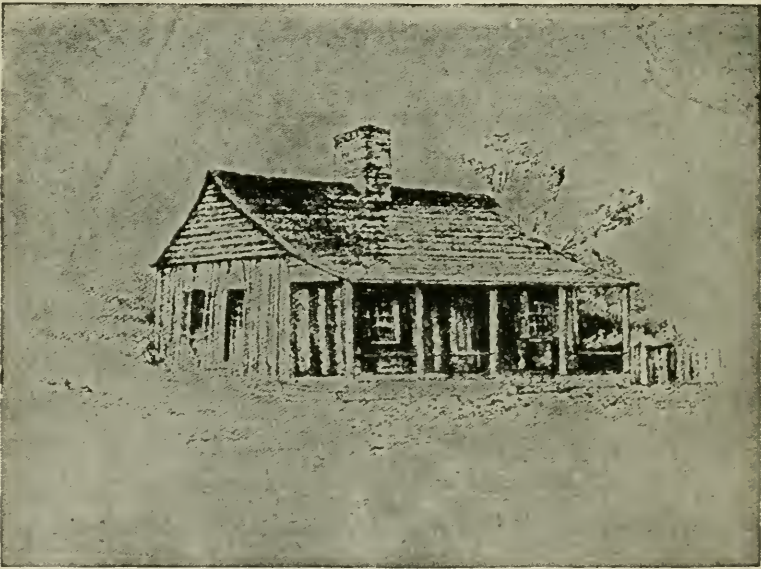
⁷ The census of Spanish Governor De Lassus taken in 1799 showed the following population of the principal towns:

Ste. Genevieve.....	949	St. Ferdinand.....	376
St. Louis.....	925	Marias Des Leards.....	376
St. Charles.....	875	New Madrid.....	282
New Bourbon.....	560	Carondelet.....	184
Cape Girardeau.....	521	Meramec.....	115
St. Andre.....	393	Little Meadows.....	49
		Total.....	6,028

CHAPTER III

LIFE OF THE PEOPLE DURING THE SPANISH PERIOD

Villages. The French people lived in villages. These villages usually consisted of one long street with houses on either side. The houses were constructed of hewn logs which were stood on end side by side with the cracks filled with clay or mortar. The floors were usually made of hewn



TYPE OF THE ROBIDOU HOUSE IN WHICH THE FIRST
NEWSPAPER WAS PUBLISHED IN 1808

From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State, by permission of the
Missouri Historical Society

logs joined together. The furniture was very crude and simple. Back of the houses lay the common field. This was

divided into long narrow strips,¹ the strips running back from the village. Each villager was assigned a strip which usually contained twenty to thirty acres.

Social Life. The people were very fond of amusements, but life was pretty much the same everywhere. They were so widely separated from the rest of the world that it took months to get news. There were no newspapers, few books and no public schools. Few people could read and write. The French settlers were Catholic in religion. The Catholic church was the established church and no other form of worship was legal. The chief occupations were farming, hunting, trapping and fur trading.

The Government. The government was a very simple, mild, military despotism. The lieutenant governor resided at St. Louis. He appointed the commandants for the military posts and the commandants appointed the ruling officer, called a syndic, for the out-lying settlements. There were no elections, no local officials, except those appointed by the military commanders, no trial by jury, no lawyers, and very little court machinery. There was little crime. If a crime was committed, severe punishment was sure and swift. Cases were brought before the syndic, the commandant or the lieutenant governor. The officer would hear both sides and then render his decision. There was little delay. Often not more than four or five days passed between the filing of the suit and the decision of the court.

The American Settlers. In the latter part of the Spanish period the Americans began coming across the river in

¹ The unit for measuring land was the arpen. An arpen was about 190 feet. The lots in St. Louis' common field were one arpen wide and forty arpens long.

large numbers. About 1795, Spain and England came very near going to war. In case of war the English from Canada would certainly have attacked the Spanish settlements in upper Louisiana (now Missouri). In order to get into the colony people who would defend it against England in case of war, the Spanish Government began giving every American who would settle in upper Louisiana 800 acres of land. This accounts for the large numbers of Americans who came to the country between 1795 and 1804.

The Americans were very different from the French in many ways. They did not live in villages but on farms. Their houses were seldom closer than half a mile and they were often several miles apart. The Americans built their houses by laying the logs in the walls horizontally and notching them together at the corners.

The Americans were usually Protestants, if they belonged to any church. All public worship was illegal except that of the Catholic church. Therefore, if the Americans worshipped at all, it was in private homes. The Spanish officials, however, were usually very tolerant toward violations of laws concerning religious worship.

Missouri Becomes American Territory. In 1800 Napoleon Bonaparte, who was ruler of France, succeeded in getting Spain to give the entire Louisiana territory back to France in exchange for a portion of Italy which Napoleon held at that time. Later Napoleon sold the territory to the United States; thus the country which is now Missouri became a part of the United States. The transfer² at St. Louis was made March 9 and 10, 1804.

² The change from Spanish to American rule was made quietly and with very little ceremony. A Frenchman named Charles Gratiot took a

great deal of interest in the transfer. The transfer on March 10 took place on Gratiot's porch. He was a Republican and a Protestant and when the American flag was run up he called for three cheers for his adopted country.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER III

1. How did the French build their log houses?
2. What were their principal occupations?
3. Why did so many American settlers come to Louisiana between 1795 and 1804?
4. How did the American settlers differ from the French?
5. How and when did the United States obtain Louisiana?

CHAPTER IV

MISSOURI A TERRITORY 1804-1820

The change from Spanish to American rule was not popular in Missouri, although more than half the people were Americans. The change brought trial by jury, lawyers, land speculators, and higher taxes, all of which were considered evils or at least unnecessary. From March until October, 1804 the military government was continued as it had been under the Spanish rule. The only change was that of governors. Captain Amos Stoddard succeeded the Spanish governor, De Lassus.

District of Louisiana. October 1, 1804 all of the Louisiana Purchase north of the southern boundary of the present state of Arkansas was made into the district of Louisiana. This district was attached to the Territory of Indiana. General William Henry Harrison who was at that time governor of Indiana by that act of Congress became the first American Civil Governor of the country now Missouri. But Governor Harrison lived at Vincennes, Indiana and could give but little attention to the District of Louisiana. The people in the District thought they ought to have a territorial government of their own. They petitioned Congress to separate them from Indiana and make the District of Louisiana a territory of the third or highest class.

Territory of Louisiana. In 1805 Congress separated the District of Louisiana from Indiana but made it a territory

of the first or lowest class. General James Wilkinson¹ was appointed first territorial governor and served from 1805 to 1807. He soon became very unpopular in St. Louis. During Wilkinson's term, President Jefferson sent two young army officers, Merriweather Lewis and William Clark, up the Missouri River in charge of an exploring expedition.² The purpose of the expedition was to gain all the information possible about the country which the President had purchased from France.

In 1807 President Jefferson sent Governor Wilkinson to the army and appointed Merriweather Lewis³ governor.

¹ Governor Wilkinson was appointed first territorial governor by President Jefferson. President Jefferson seems to have thought very highly of Wilkinson, but he did not know of his secret schemes and plots which history has revealed. Wilkinson while yet a young man in the Revolutionary army was one of the plotters who tried to get General Washington relieved of his command and Gates put in his place. After the war, he moved to Kentucky where he secretly became a Spanish subject and tried to get the people west of the Alleghanies to separate from the United States. While he was governor of Louisiana he entertained Aaron Burr in his home in St. Louis and became a party to Burr's treason.

² Lewis and Clark gathered the men and supplies for their expedition on the eastern bank of the Mississippi during the summer and fall of 1803. They ascended the river 1600 miles that summer. They stopped and built the fort which they called Fort Mandan from the Mandan Indians who lived there. In April, 1805 they left Fort Mandan and finished the ascent of the Missouri, crossed the mountains and spent the third winter at the mouth of the Columbia River. They had traveled more than 4,000 miles. On March 23, 1806, they started on their journey homeward and reached St. Louis September 23, 1806. The journey had required two years and four months.

³ Merriweather Lewis was born near Charlottesville, Virginia in 1774. His father died when he was a child but left him a moderate fortune. In 1794 he volunteered in the army called out to suppress the whiskey riots in Pennsylvania. The next year he joined the regular army. He became a captain in 1800. From 1801 to 1803 he was private secretary to President Jefferson. From 1803 to 1807 he was engaged in the famous Lewis

Governor Lewis found the affairs of the territory in bad condition but soon brought order out of confusion. After Governor Lewis' death in 1809, Benjamin Howard of Kentucky was appointed governor and served until 1812, when he resigned to accept a commission as brigadier general.

The census of 1810 showed that the population had increased from 10,000 to 20,000 during the six years Missouri had been under American rule.

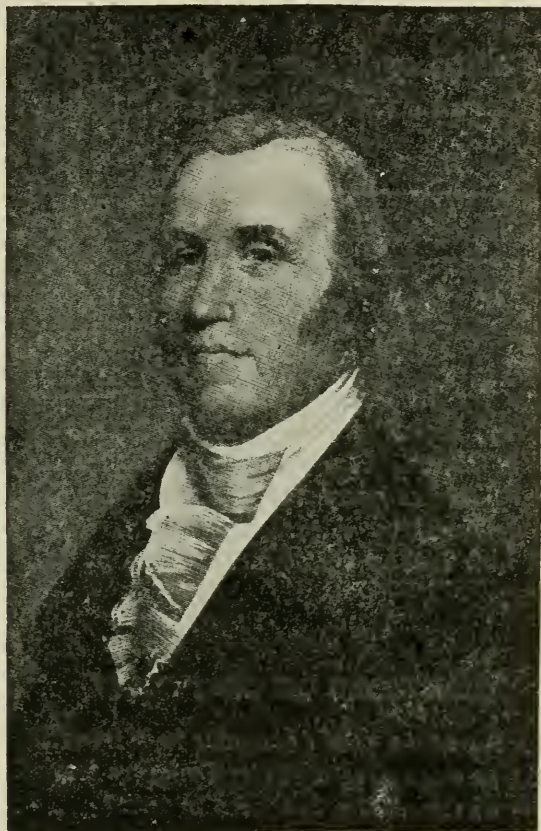
The people were beginning to want more voice in their government than they were permitted to have under a first class territory.⁴ Between 1810 and 1812 a number of petitions were sent to Congress asking that the Territory of Louisiana be made a third class territory. Finally in 1812 that part of Louisiana known as the Territory of Orleans was admitted to the Union and its name changed to Louisiana. The Territory of Louisiana was then made a territory of the second class⁵ and its name changed to Missouri.

and Clark expedition described above and was governor of Missouri from 1807 to 1809. He was a man of great ability but was restless and subject to fits of melancholy. In 1809 during one of these seasons of depression he started to Washington on official business. At a lodging place in Tennessee he committed suicide.

⁴ The government of a territory of the first class consisted of a governor and a court of three judges, all appointed by the President. The laws were made by the governor and the judges sitting as a territorial council. There were no elected officials.

⁵ Under the second class territory the governor was appointed by the President. There was a legislative body composed of two houses. The members of the lower house known as the house of delegates, were elected by the people. The upper house was called the council. It was composed of nine men selected by the President from a list of eighteen names submitted to him by the House of Delegates. The territory was given a delegate in Congress.

After Governor Howard's resignation the President appointed William Clark,⁶ the second officer of Lewis and Clark's expedition, governor. He held the office until



WILLIAM CLARK
Governor of Missouri Territory
and Indian Agent
From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State,
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⁶ Governor William Clark was a younger brother of the famous John Rogers Clark. He was born in Virginia in 1770. His father moved to the present site of Louisville, Kentucky in 1784. From that time he was associated with Indians. At eighteen years of age he entered the army.

Missouri became a state in 1820. During Governor Clark's administration rapid progress was made in Missouri along all lines. There were five counties in 1812. There were fifteen in 1820. The population was 20,000 in 1810. It was more than 66,000 in 1820. Missouri had been made a territory of the third or highest class in 1816. Soon after that the people began asking to be admitted to the Union as a state.

He became a lieutenant of infantry in 1792 but resigned in 1796 on account of ill health. He moved to St. Louis. At Lewis' request he was appointed one of the commanders of the famous exploring expedition. It was due to his knowledge of the Indians that the expedition was successful. He was appointed Indian agent by the government in 1807. He won the friendship of the Indians by his honesty and fairness in dealing with them. They called him "Red Head" and he could do more with them than any other white man in Missouri. He served as governor of Missouri Territory from 1813 to 1820. He was nominated for governor of the State against his will and was defeated by Alexander McNair in 1820. President Monroe appointed him Indian agent in 1822 and he held this office until his death in 1838.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER IV

1. Why was the American rule unpopular in Missouri?
2. What was the arrangement made by Congress for governing Missouri?
3. What change was made by Congress in 1805?
4. Who was the first territorial governor of Missouri?
5. What was the purpose of Lewis and Clark's expedition?
6. Who succeeded Governor Wilkinson in 1807?
7. What change was made in the government in 1812?
8. What was the population in Missouri in 1810?
9. What was the population in 1820?
10. How many counties were there in Missouri in 1812? In 1820?
11. What change in government was made in 1816?

CHAPTER V

SETTLEMENTS

Immigration. We have seen that the population of Missouri at the time of the purchase of Louisiana was about 10,000 and that more than half of the people were Americans. The change in ownership from France to the United States caused the number of immigrants to increase rapidly. About 10,000 people came across the Mississippi during the first six years of American rule. Most of these people came from Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia and the Carolinas.¹ However, few new settlements were established until after the War of 1812. There were two reasons why these new immigrants did not form new settlements. First, the Indians were restless and there was danger of an Indian war. Second, there was plenty of land for all who came to the old settlements.

After 1815, immigration was much greater than it had been before the war.² Probably the general unrest which usually follows war caused many people to want to find new homes in the West. This movement was so great that more

¹ The "Missouri Gazette" of October 16, 1816 said: "A stranger witnessing the scene would imagine that those states had made an agreement to introduce the territory as soon as possible into the bosom of the American family."

² "As many as one hundred persons are said to have passed through St. Charles in one day on their way to the Boone's Lick, Salt River or some other region which for the time being was the center of attraction; and this rate was kept up for many days together. Many of these movers brought with them a hundred head of cattle, besides horses, hogs, and sheep, and from three to twenty slaves."—Carr, *History of Missouri*, p. 177.

than forty thousand people came to Missouri between 1810 and 1820. Most of them came after 1815.

New Settlements. The new comers pushed on up the Missouri River or up the Mississippi. Pioneers had gone into these regions before the war and had sent back glowing reports of the beauty and fertility of the country. One of the most popular settlements was the Boone's Lick³ country. Many of the people who came to this section brought slaves and much live stock with them. Occasionally there was a wealthy settler among them.⁴ Soon a number of settlements were made which grew into thriving towns. When new settlements were made at a distance from the older communities, it was necessary that courts be established to keep order and punish criminals. This made it necessary to organize new counties as the settlements spread into the wilderness.

Thus the organization of counties is an indication of the spreading of settlements. Between 1812 and 1820 there were ten new counties organized. They represented three different movements of population. Washington, Madison

³ This was the section of the country in the Missouri valley now occupied by Howard, Boone, Cooper and Calloway counties. It had no definite boundaries. It received its name "Boonslick" because the two sons of Daniel Boone had come to the country and made salt from water of the salt springs they found in the region.

⁴ Mr. John Hardeman, a wealthy lawyer from North Carolina, moved to Howard County in 1819. Here he established a splendid farm and garden. Switzler, in his History of Missouri, describes it as follows: "He purchased several hundred acres of land, and on a chosen spot immediately on the Missouri River laid off ten acres in an exact square for a botanical garden. Serpentine walks, paved with shells, conducted visitors through this charming court of flora." Hardeman's garden was famous throughout the country. But the current of the Missouri River washed it away, and the water now flows over the spot just above Boonville where the garden once grew.

and Wayne counties were in the second tier of counties back from the Mississippi River. Franklin, Montgomery, Howard and Cooper counties were organized by the people who moved up the Missouri River. Lincoln and Pike counties were the result of the movement up the Mississippi. One county, Jefferson, represented increased population along the Mississippi, south of St. Louis. It was formed from a part of Ste. Genevieve County.

In the year of 1820 ten new counties were created. Eight of the ten bordered on the Missouri River, one on the upper Mississippi, and one on the lower Mississippi.

Indians. The Indians of Missouri retarded the settlement of the upper Missouri for a time, but they were never strong enough to hold the pioneers back very long. They sometimes attacked small settlements. They killed a few of the early settlers, usually by ambushing them or by attacking them without warning.⁵ They frequently stole the horses from a settlement, and when men pursued them, ambushed and killed their pursuers.⁶

The Indians were so successful in horse stealing that a scarcity of horses compelled the early settlers to do most of their work with cattle.

⁵ Captain Sarshell Cooper, for whom Cooper County was named, was killed at his own fire side in Cooper's Fort, April 14, 1814. It was a dark stormy night and Captain Cooper was sitting by the fire holding one of his children on his knee. An Indian crept up to the wall of Cooper's cabin which formed one side of the fort, and made an opening between the logs just large enough to admit the muzzle of a gun. Through this opening he shot Captain Cooper. The child was not injured.

⁶ In March, 1815 a band of Sacs and Fox Indians stole some horses from the settlers near Loutre Island. Captain James Calloway, a grandson of Daniel Boone, with fifteen men pursued them and recovered the horses. While returning to the settlement they were ambushed. Captain Calloway and three of his men were killed. Calloway County was named in honor of Captain Calloway.

American Energy. The old French settlers had lived an easy life. They were content to do things as their fathers had done them. Progress was slow. The coming of the Americans changed all this. New energy and enterprise could be seen almost everywhere. Ste. Genevieve and New Madrid were exceptions. There the easy French life was continued, and in general, things were as before the Americans came. New Madrid even lost in population.⁷ American activity entered all lines of work. New methods of mining and new machinery increased the output of lead. New fur companies were organized and the value of the fur trade was greatly increased. American methods of farming yielded larger crops, and much grain and other farm products were shipped by river to New Orleans. Land values increased rapidly. Two banks were established at St. Louis. Both of them failed, but the fact that they existed at all indicates the spirit of the people.

The Social Life. Missouri was on the extreme edge of civilization. Many rough characters were to be found in her population. Chief among these were the miners of the lead districts and the river men. These were rough-and-ready men, without families, who frequently engaged in drunken brawls and fist fights. But more serious than the

⁷ The loss in population was caused, in part at least, by a very disastrous earthquake which occurred in 1811. The shocks continued for months. Many buildings were destroyed; much of the land was ruined; large areas became swamp land. Hundreds of people left the settlement. Congress permitted owners of New Madrid land to locate a like amount of land anywhere they pleased. Land speculators rushed to New Madrid and bought the ruined farms for very little and took up land elsewhere, in place of the farms they had bought. Thus the land sharks got the benefit of the action of Congress which was intended to relieve the unfortunate victims of the earthquake.

fight of the miners and the boatmen were the duels of the educated and professional classes. Duels⁸ were common and often ended fatally for one or both participants.

Private schools were established early by the Americans and before 1820 provisions were made for a public school system in St. Louis. In 1820 there were five newspapers published in the territory. The oldest of these was the "Gazette"⁹ established in St. Louis in 1808. Soon after the Americans took possession of the country, Protestant churches were established. By 1820 Baptist, Presbyterian, Methodist, Congregationalist and Episcopal churches were established in the territory.

River Traffic. Before the days of railroads the rivers were the highways of trade and travel. In the beginning of the territorial period transportation was usually carried up the rivers by keelboats. Down-stream transportation was often by flat boats or rafts. Before the end of the period the steamboat had been invented and applied in a small way to transportation on the rivers of the Mississippi valley. The first steamboat to reach St. Louis was the "General Pike" which arrived August 2, 1817. During the year 1818 there were several arrivals, and soon there was regular steamboat traffic.

The first steamboat to ascend the Missouri was the "Independence" which reached Old Franklin in May, 1819.

⁸The most famous of these duels was the Benton-Lucas duel. Both were able young lawyers and rivals. They soon became bitter enemies in both law and politics. Lucas challenged Benton. A duel was fought in which Lucas was wounded. Later a second meeting resulted in Lucas' being killed.

⁹"The Gazette" later became "The Republican" and finally "The Republic." It was published continuously for one hundred and eleven years. In 1919 the plant was bought by the "Globe Democrat" and the career of "The Republic" was ended.

The same year the "Western Engineer,"¹⁰ a small steamboat, passed up the Missouri as far as the mouth of the Platte River. This change in transportation meant much for the people of Missouri. It meant better markets for their goods, cheaper goods from the East, and quicker passenger and mail service. Such was the Missouri of one hundred years ago when she started on her history as one of the states of the Union.

¹⁰ The "Western Engineer" was constructed in an odd way. Extending from its prow (front end) running from the keel was the image of a huge serpent, painted black, with mouth of red and its tongue the color of live coal. The steam exhausted from the mouth of the serpent. This led the Indians to look with wonder. They saw in it the great Spirit and thought the boat was carried on the back of the great serpent. Many were afraid to go near it.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER V

1. How did the purchase of Louisiana affect migration across the Mississippi?
2. How many came into Louisiana during the first six years of American rule?
3. From what states did the immigrants come?
4. Why did not the immigrants who came before 1812 form new settlements?
5. Where was the Boone's Lick country?
6. How did the Indians injure the early settlers?
7. How did the American energy change conditions in the territory?
8. What was the first newspaper in Missouri? How many newspapers were there in Missouri in 1820?
9. What change in transportation began during the territorial period? What did it mean to Missouri?
10. When did the first steamboat arrive in St. Louis?

PART II

MISSOURI A PIONEER STATE 1820-1836

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION TO THE STORY OF MISSOURI STATEHOOD

General Survey. The hundred years of Missouri history which we are to follow divides itself naturally into three great periods. The first of these began with the organization of the State government in 1820 and closed with two important events which mark the opening of the second period in 1836. The period covered sixteen years and was essentially a pioneer period. The life of the people is not very different from what it had been from the beginning of American rule in 1804 to the organization of the State government in 1820. Probably the most striking thing about the period was the rapid increase in population and the consequent organization of new counties. There were other things preparing the State for greater advance in civilization: the growth of the steamboat traffic; the end of the Indian troubles; the beginning of political parties; the beginning of the accumulation of capital due to lead mining, the fur trade, and the Sante Fe trade; the gradual improvement in agriculture; the development of the tobacco industry and the hemp industry; the social and educational development; and also the migration of Missourians to

Texas. While the period was essentially a pioneer period toward its close it gradually merged into a more progressive stage of civilization.

The Introductory Story. The real history of the State of Missouri begins with the story of her struggle for statehood. All that we have told in Part I is simply an introduction to the real history of Missouri. This introductory story is intensely interesting. It is a period of adventure and romance. A great deal has been written concerning the men who lived and the things that have happened during these early times, but after all it is only a story of preparation. This introductory story is not even an American story until 1804.

Importance of Missouri's History. Missouri has been the central figure in more important events and movements than any other state of the Union. Virginia, because of her former size, because of her extravagant claims of territory based on an old charter, and because of her old cavalier aristocracy has an important place in the history of our country. She has been called "Old Dominion" and "The Mother of States" and she furnished three of the first four presidents. Missouri has furnished no presidents, has made no extravagant claims to territory, and has no blooded aristocracy but her citizens have gone into Texas, Oregon, California, and Oklahoma in such numbers that they practically brought these states into existence. Her citizens have moved to and exercised strong influence in all of the states of the great West except Kansas. Thus Missouri, through the activity of her citizenship, has become the real mother of states. Massachusetts is the home of the Pilgrim fathers; the seat of Harvard University and the near neigh-

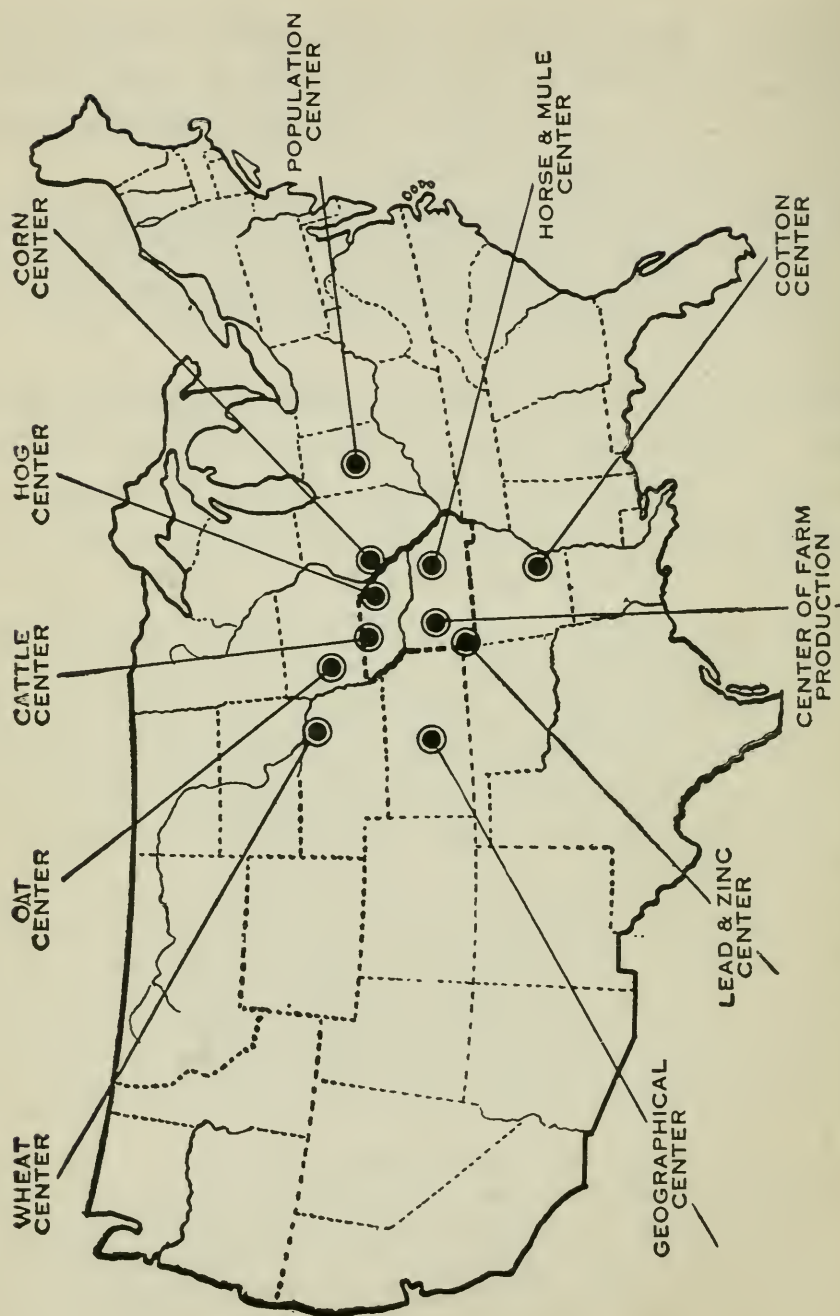
bor of Yale. Because of the barrenness of her soil her people have been compelled to get an education to make a living. Thus there has been produced a group of Massachusetts, or at least New England, historians.

We must not forget that much of American history has been written from the New England point of view; and the importance of Massachusetts is emphasized by the New England writers of history.

Missouri the Center of Nation Wide Events and Movements. Virginia and Massachusetts are the only rivals of Missouri in historical importance among the states. A true viewpoint of the growth and development of our whole country will doubtless eliminate both of them. The first event of great importance in the growth of our country after the recognition of our independence in 1783 was the purchase of Louisiana. This purchase doubled the territory of our nation and made possible our continued development. Missouri was the center of this territory, the gateway to the great West, the first state to be settled and admitted to the Union from it.¹

The request of Missouri for admission to the Union brought before the country the issue of slavery. Every argument that was ever used for slavery, or against it, except the final argument of force, was used in the contest over the admission of Missouri. Mr. Carr, the author of the History

¹ Louisiana was admitted before Missouri, but Louisiana was French and Spanish in population rather than an American state. The importance of New Orleans and the French people were the dominant factors in making Louisiana a state. Louisiana still uses Latin law and has the code of Napoleon instead of English common law. Her local units of government are called parishes instead of counties and the old French manners still influence her people.



From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State by permission of the Missouri Historical Society

of Missouri in The Commonwealth Series, called his book "Missouri, A Bone of Contention." With the adoption of the Missouri Compromise, Missouri became a peninsula of slave territory extending north into free territory. Upon the settlement of Kansas this fact became more noticeable. At the same time, Missouri was a peninsula of civilization extending westward into the unsettled wilderness.

For sixteen years after her admission, Missouri was the only state west of the Mississippi River. For thirty years the apex of the frontier line² remained in the neighborhood of Kansas City, while our population gathered there to make the final drive which was to span the continent with American civilization.

Later Missouri was the pivotal state in the Civil War. She was the largest, most populous, and the most important of the border states. When in February, 1861 Missouri gave the union cause 80,000 majority and elected to the constituent convention an overwhelming majority of union delegates, it is not too much to say that she saved the nation. President Lincoln recognized the importance of Missouri by appointing one of her citizens to a cabinet position and making her the leader of his Border State Policy. After the war, Missouri led the nation-wide movement for general amnesty. The Liberal Republican Party was organized upon the issue of a general amnesty and the restoration of civic rights in Missouri in 1870. They carried the state by 40,000, and the movement spread over the whole nation. A National Liberal Republican Party in 1872 nominated Horace Greeley of New York and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri.

² The "frontier line" marks the territory where the density of population is greater than two to the square mile from the territory where the density of population is less than two to the square mile.

While Greeley and Brown were defeated, the policy of general amnesty triumphed and was carried out by President Hayes four years later.

Free Silver. Once more Missouri had the distinction of furnishing leadership in a nation-wide movement. Richard P. Bland, Congressman from Missouri in 1878, began the fight for free silver by introducing a free silver bill into Congress. The bill did not pass in its original form. He continued the fight until in 1895 he committed his party in the state to free silver. Many people thought the Democratic convention of 1896 should have nominated Mr. Bland for President as the logical free silver leader. Instead it nominated William Jennings Bryan. As in 1872, the country had accepted an issue raised by Missouri, but had refused to nominate the Missouri leader.

The Central State. The geographic position and resources of Missouri probably account, in a degree, at least, for her wonderful history and leadership in nation wide movements. Missouri is not only a central state in the Mississippi valley, but is the central state in the United States. There are five states between Missouri and the Atlantic and five between Missouri and the Pacific. There are two states between Missouri and Canada and two between Missouri and the Gulf of Mexico.

Rivers. The Mississippi, one of the greatest rivers of the world, washes the entire eastern border of the State. The Missouri flows for more than a hundred miles along the western border, then almost directly across the State joining the Mississippi near the middle of Missouri's eastern boundary. The tributaries flowing into these two rivers

are grouped in such a way as to make eight small river systems or groups of rivers, separated by watersheds. The highways and especially the railroads follow these valleys and ridges.

Soil and Other Natural Resources. The greatest natural resource of Missouri is her soils. With respect to fertility these soils may be considered in five groups. In order of fertility the glacial soil in the northwestern part of the State near the Missouri River probably stands first. This is a very fertile brown soil and is usually known as loess soil. A close second to the loess soil in fertility, if it is not first, is the wonderfully rich black alluvial soil of our river and creek bottoms. It is scattered over the State, but found in larger sections in southeastern Missouri than elsewhere.

Third comes the prairie soil of the north central and western parts of the State. The soils around the base of the Ozark Mountains come fourth. Finally, the poorest of our soils are the upland soils of the Ozark hills. Even these are capable of supporting an immense population if they were intensively cultivated like the upland soils of central Europe.

The Heritage of Missouri Boys and Girls. In addition to her soils, Missouri has immense natural resources in her minerals, timber, building stone, fine clay, water power, etc. Certainly no boys and girls ever had a greater or more wonderful inheritance than the boys and girls of the present day Missouri. They live in the center of the greatest valley of the world; in the center of the United States, the richest, the most powerful, and we believe, the best nation of the earth. From our central viewpoint we can get a vision of the East, the West, the North and the South, and under-

stand the people of these sections probably better than they understand themselves. The Missouri boys and girls have the opportunity to become big, all-round American men and women with a vision and an understanding of the whole country. To understand themselves, to understand the society in which they are living, to be able to make use of the abundant resources at hand, to make the most of their inheritance, Missouri boys and girls must know the wonderful hundred years of the history of their State which lie back of them.

This centennial story, this hundred years of development, this hundred years of relationship to the American nation, this hundred years of membership in the great family of the states which compose the United States is the subject of the remaining chapters of this book.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER I

1. With what event does the real history of Missouri begin?
2. What are the leading characteristics of the introductory period?
3. When does the American story begin?
4. What reason is there for calling Missouri the mother of states?
5. When did the issue of slavery first come before the country?
6. In what way was Missouri for a long time a peninsula?
7. What is a frontier line?
8. How did President Lincoln recognize the importance of Missouri?
9. Who was the national leader of the free silver movement?
10. Name and locate the five varieties of soils in Missouri?
11. Why should Missouri boys and girls know the history of Missouri?

CHAPTER II

MISSOURI'S STRUGGLE FOR STATEHOOD

Petitions. Missouri's effort to obtain statehood began January 8, 1818 with the presentation of a petition to Congress and closed with the Proclamation of Admission by President Monroe August 10, 1821. Thus the struggle lasted three years, seven months and two days. When Missouri's delegate arose in his place in Congress on Jackson Day, 1818 and presented the petition for statehood, there was no apparent reason why Missouri should not be admitted immediately.

Missouri had a greater population than some of the states already in the Union had at the time of their admission. There was no question as to the natural resources and future growth of the State. Early in April a bill authorizing Missouri to draft a constitution was introduced. It was referred to the committee of the whole but was not taken up during the session. The Territorial Legislature drew up a memorial to Congress in November, 1818 asking for the admission of Missouri as a state. This memorial asked for boundaries that would have given Missouri much more territory than the present boundaries gave her. They included a section of northeastern Arkansas, a strip of eastern Kansas about sixty miles wide and a strip of southern Iowa about ninety miles wide.

The First Missouri Bill. This memorial was presented to the House of Representatives on December 18, 1818.¹ A bill granting the request was introduced on February 13, 1819. This bill came up in the committee of the whole for discussion.

Representative Talmadge of New York raised the question of slavery that day and two days later proposed his amendment to the bill prohibiting the further introduction of slavery and providing that all children born in Missouri after her admission should be free at the age of twenty-five.

The introduction of the Talmadge² Amendment marks the beginning of an exciting debate on slavery extension which, for the first time, brought that question before the country as a serious sectional issue. After a spirited debate the amendment was adopted in the committee of the whole by a vote of seventy-nine to sixty-seven, and favorably reported to the House. After a debate between Mr. Scott, delegate from Missouri, and Mr. Talmadge, author of the amendment, the House accepted it by a vote of ninety-seven to fifty-six. The bill was then passed.

¹ Two days before, Representative Robertson of Kentucky had offered a resolution looking to the establishment of a separate territorial government for that part of Missouri territory lying south of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes. This would indicate that the people in north eastern Arkansas did not desire to become a part of the proposed state of Missouri. They had of course known of the memorial of the Missouri legislature. The fact that a Kentucky representative instead of their own representative, John Scott, introduced the resolution would seem to indicate a lack of confidence in Mr. Scott. An Act of Congress creating the Territory of Arkansas was passed and went into effect July 4, 1819.

² The Talmadge Amendment was as follows, "And provided that the further introduction of slavery or involuntary servitude be prohibited, except for the punishment of crimes, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; and that all children born within the state shall be free at the age of twenty-five years."

On February 27 the Senate rejected the Talmadge Amendment by a vote of twenty-two to sixteen. The bill was then passed and returned to the House March 2. The House, by a vote of seventy-six to seventy-eight rejected the bill without the Talmadge Amendment. The next day Congress adjourned.³

More Petitions. During the summer of 1819, popular opinion in Missouri was strongly against Congressional restriction in regard to slavery. The five papers of the State printed a great many editorials and letters condemning the action of the House of Representatives. Grand juries and public gatherings of all kinds adopted resolutions against restriction of slavery by Congress. Many petitions praying Congress for statehood were circulated. All these agree in pointing out the evils of territorial government. One of them proposed the Missouri River for the northern boundary of the State.⁴ All of the others favored the boundaries proposed by the territorial legislature the preceding year.

³ Mr. Switzler sums up the situation as follows: "This left the two Houses geographically divided; the one free and north, the other slave and south, and the same division extended itself with electric speed to the states and the people. It was a period of deep apprehension, filling with dismay the hearts of the steadiest patriots. It would be nine months before Congress would sit again. The agitation, great as it was, was to become greater and fiercer, and the wisest could not forecast its consequence."

The boundaries proposed in that petition were as follows: The Missouri from the Mississippi River to the mouth of the Kansas River, then west to the western boundary of the United States, then south to the thirty-sixth parallel, then east to White River and down that river to the mouth of the Black River, then east to the Mississippi. These boundaries would have made Missouri a long narrow state. The petition came from Southeast Missouri.

The Second Missouri Bill. In December, 1919 another Missouri bill was introduced in Congress. The Missouri question was debated in both Houses of Congress through January and February, 1820. In the meantime Maine had applied for admission. A bill admitting Maine, which would of course be a free state, was introduced and connected with the Missouri Bill.

A clause introduced by Senator Thomas of Illinois was added to the Missouri Bill which forever excluded slavery in all the Louisiana Purchase north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes except Missouri. This was the famous Missouri Compromise. It passed the Senate by a vote of thirty-four to ten. The bill as amended was then passed in the House and was approved by the President March 6, 1820.

Forming a Constitution. Under the Act of Congress of March 6, 1820, known as the Enabling Act, Missouri was authorized to hold an election on the first Monday and two succeeding days of May, 1820 to choose delegates to a constitutional convention.

The convention met June 12. There were forty-one delegates⁵ in the convention. There has seldom, if ever, been a group of forty-one men brought together in any commonwealth which numbered in its membership so many notable men.⁶ Thirty of these men were active in politics

⁵ Thirty-three of the forty-one delegates were born in slave states, six in free states and two in foreign countries. Of the thirty-three born in slave states, eight were born in Kentucky, four in Maryland and thirteen in Virginia. Thus twenty-five of the forty-one were born in the border states.

⁶ Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, in his excellent book "Missouri's Struggle for Statehood," has given us a very interesting account of a number of these men. He selects as the five most prominent members David Barton,

and later held public office of some kind. Twenty-three of these were members of state legislatures. One was the first governor of the State, two were United States senators. Twenty-one served in the United States Army. The convention organized by electing David Barton chairman and William G. Pettis Secretary, drafted the constitution and adjourned July 19. This constitution was never submitted to the people for ratification. The convention simply author-

Henry Dodge, John Rice Jones, Duff Green and Edward Bates. Sketches of Barton and Bates will be given later, but notice of the others belongs here.

a. John Rice Jones was born in Wales in 1759. He received an excellent education at Oxford and practiced law in London. He came to America in 1784 and joined an expedition of General George Rogers Clark in 1786 and soon became noted as the best lawyer in the Northwest Territory. He was Attorney-General of Indiana Territory for four years. He later moved to Illinois and was the first resident lawyer of that state. He has been called the greatest lawyer west of the Alleghany Mountains between 1790 and 1810. He later moved to Missouri where he became a partner of Moses Austin in his lead mining enterprises. He was one of the largest land holders of Missouri and for his time became very wealthy. He is said to have been the most scholarly man in the convention. He had a large family, and six of his children became prominent in six different states. One of these became United States senator from Iowa.

b. In striking contrast to John Rice Jones stands General Henry Dodge. Jones made a fortune; Dodge inherited a fortune and lost most of it. Jones was highly educated; Dodge had little schooling. Jones was a lawyer and spoke six languages; Dodge was a military man and spoke but one language. Both engaged in mining, both had large families and both had one son who became a member of the United States Senate.

General Henry Dodge was born in 1782 at Vincennes. His childhood was passed in Kentucky and the District of Louisiana. He entered the army in 1806 and served for nearly thirty years, and was, next to General Jackson, the most popular military man of the West. After living in Missouri for a time during which he served as a delegate in the constitu-

ized its chairman, David Barton, to call an election to choose the State officials. The election was held August 28, and the State Government was organized September 19, 1820.

The Second Missouri Compromise. Every one supposed that Missouri would be admitted to the Union as soon as Congress convened in November, 1820. Such was not the

tional convention he was appointed first territorial governor of Wisconsin and served in that position until he lost his office because of a change in the national administration.

He was then elected territorial delegate and when Wisconsin became a state he was one of her first Senators. He had a son serving in the United States Senate from Iowa at the time he was representing Wisconsin. The Dodges are the only father and son who ever sat in the United States Senate at the same time. Dodge was a staunch Democrat and a friend of Benton and Jackson.

c. One of the most remarkable men of the convention was Duff Green. He was one of the most versatile men in our state and national history. Born in Kentucky, he taught school, studied law, and sold goods as a country merchant. Green came to Missouri in 1817, established the first mail stage line west of the Mississippi, founded the town of Chariton and became its first postmaster. After helping frame the constitution he became the first representative from Howard County and in 1822 was elected to the state Senate. In 1825 he purchased the "United States Telegraph" at Washington and became its editor. Through this paper he exercised a great influence in national politics. He was twice sent to Mexico as the representative of the United States Government in special negotiations. In 1821 he was elected Brigadier-General of the First Division of Missouri Militia. From this he was always known as General Duff Green. In 1823 Green bought the Benton paper, the "St. Louis Enquirer," and became an editor. Green became very wealthy and traveled much in Europe and was frequently entrusted with important diplomatic missions. Later he became a railroad contractor and constructed the railroad from Dalton, Georgia, which he founded, to Knoxville, Tennessee.

case. The Missouri constitution of 1820 in defining the legislative power of the General Assembly reads as follows, "It shall be their duty, as soon as may be, to pass such laws as may be necessary to prevent free negroes and mulattoes from coming to, and settling in this state under any pretext whatsoever." Some of the members of Congress from the northern states objected to this clause on the grounds that it was in violation of that part of the constitution of the United States which guarantees equal privileges in all the states to the citizens of every state. The resolution providing for the admission of Missouri was introduced in the Senate November 14 and in the House November 16.

Finally after a bitter debate which lasted nearly a month, the Senate passed a resolution with a reservation concerning the clause of the State constitution prohibiting free negroes from coming into the State. The House, after an equally prolonged debate, rejected the resolution December 13 by a vote of seventy-nine to ninety-three.

In January, 1821 three memorials were received from the General Assembly of Missouri. These brought up the Missouri question again. The debate turned on the point of whether these memorials should be entered on the Journal of the House as coming from the territory of Missouri or the state of Missouri. After debating the question for two weeks the House entered them as coming from Missouri. The Senate Resolution was then taken up, and after various attempts had been made to amend it, all of which failed, it was defeated by a vote of eighty-two to eighty-eight.

Clay's Committee. Mr. Clay then proposed that the House appoint a committee of twenty-three, one from each state, to act jointly with a Senate committee in attempting

to arrive at a settlement of the Missouri question. The committee, with Mr. Clay as chairman, was appointed and the seven senate members were to act with it

On the 26th of February this committee submitted its report which is known as the Second Missouri Compromise. The report was adopted by both Houses of Congress without change and approved by the President, March 2, 1821. This compromise provided that the President should admit Missouri by proclamation as soon as the General Assembly of Missouri by a solemn public act should declare that the clause in the Missouri Constitution should never be construed to authorize the passage of any law "by which the citizens of either of the states in this union shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled under the constitution of the United States."

The News Received in Missouri. The news of the passage of the second compromise measure was received in Missouri with great joy, not so much because it was of benefit to Missouri as because it was considered a defeat for their enemies in Congress. The Missourians were calm and confident throughout this second struggle. Their State government was in operation. The territorial officials were no longer in authority in any way. Missouri could never be put back to the status of a territory without the consent of the Senate, and the Senate was on the side of Missouri in the contest. The comments in the press and the toasts and speeches at public dinners indicate that the people of Missouri were delighted, especially at the defeat of the "eastern restrictionists." The opposition to the admission of Missouri was frequently referred to as "East-

ern Congressmen," "Eastern Newspapers," and "Defeat of the East." This indicates that Missouri was western rather than southern in her attitudes on public questions.

The Solemn Public Act. The comments in the press during the spring and summer of 1821 indicated that the people of Missouri considered the Solemn-Public-Act, which Congress required the legislature to pass, a mere empty form. Although the Missourians rejoiced upon receiving news of the act of Congress admitting Missouri, there was little or no sentiment in the State, except in St. Louis and St. Charles, for any haste on the part of the State in complying with the conditions. In the Boone's Lick⁷ country there was outspoken opposition to the suggestion of an extra session of the General Assembly. However, Governor McNair called an extra session to meet on June 4, 1821. The legislature passed the required Solemn-Public-Act June 26. The proclamation of President Monroe was issued August 10, 1821. After reciting the Act of March 2 requiring the Solemn-Public-Act and also the part of the act of the Missouri legislature complying with the act of Congress, President Monroe said "the admission of the said state into this Union is declared to be complete."

Thus ended the struggle for statehood begun more than three and one half years before, which had made a sectional issue of the slavery question, and which had kindled the fires of strife that were to be quenched by blood in the great Civil War from 1861 to 1865.

⁷ Shoemaker's "Struggle for Statehood," pp. 388 ff.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER II

1. Give the dates of the first period of Missouri's history as a state.
2. What was the most noticeable thing about the period?
3. What other things were preparing the state for greater advances in civilization?
4. How long was Missouri in obtaining statehood?
5. What boundaries did the territorial legislature ask Congress to give Missouri?
6. What was the Talmadge Amendment to the Missouri Bill?
7. What was the attitude of the House of Representatives toward the Talmadge Amendment? Of the Senate?
8. What was the effect of the Talmadge Amendment upon the people of the country?
9. What was the attitude of the people of Missouri upon the question of slavery restriction by Congress?
10. What was the famous Missouri Compromise?
11. What was the date of the passage of the second Missouri bill?
12. When was the election of delegates to the State Constitutional Convention held?
13. How many delegates were there in the Constitutional Convention? What evidence do we have of their ability?
14. What was the date of the election of the first state officers?
15. What was the date of the organization of the State government?
16. What was the Second Missouri Compromise?
17. What was the "Solemn Public Act?"
18. What was the date of President Monroe's proclamation admitting Missouri?

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL ANNALS 1820-1836

The First Election. The constitution provided for the holding of the first State election on August 28, 1820. The officers to be elected were a governor, a lieutenant governor, a representative to congress, fourteen State senators, forty-three representatives, and sheriffs and coroners in the counties.

During the sessions of the Constitutional Convention the coming State election had been an absorbing topic among the politicians both in and out of the convention. There was a group of lawyers¹ who worked together consistently. They seem to have held meetings and parceled out the offices

¹ This lawyer group originated in the campaign for electing delegates to the Constitutional Convention. There were thirteen restrictionist candidates. Most of them, if not all of them were lawyers. They were David Barton, Edward Bates, Thomas H. Benton, Pierre Chouteau Jr., G. W. Ferguson, Henry S. Geyer, Wilson P. Hunt, M. P. Leduc, Mathias McGirk, Alexander McNair, Bernard Pratte, William Rector, and John C. Sullivan. There were only eight delegates to be elected. These thirteen men appointed deputies, who met and selected as the restrictionist ticket, eight of the thirteen who made up the caucus. It was called the lawyer ticket by its opponents. Seven of the eight were elected. This lawyer junto of the spring became the caucus of the summer. The caucus met several times while the convention was in session. A slate was finally made as follows: Wm. Clark for governor, Thos. H. Benton and John Rice Jones for U. S. senators, David Barton and John D. Cook for supreme judges. Every member slated for an office, except Clark, was either elected or appointed to a State office; and Clark, after his defeat for governor, was appointed Indian agent by the United States government.

among themselves. This group was called "The Caucus." Thomas H. Benton, the editor of the "Inquirer," was a member of the caucus. "The Gazette," edited by Joseph Charless, was bitterly opposed to the schemes of this lawyer group.



ALEXANDER McNAIR
First Governor of Missouri
From Stevens' Missouri, the Center
State, by permission of the Mis-
souri Historical Society

Frederick Bates was the first candidate to announce. The caucus did not like Bates. It seems that its members favored McNair. They wanted Clark to run, but at first he refused. Later he allowed his name to be used, although he was at the bedside of his sick wife in Virginia and did not get home until after the election. Frederick Bates, who was a close personal friend of Clark, withdrew when Clark announced. The caucus changed from McNair to Clark. The appeal of McNair and the "Gazette" to the farmers

and the common people to vote against the candidate of the lawyer caucus had its effect. McNair² was elected governor, William Ashley, lieutenant governor, and John Scott, representative to Congress.

State Capital Selected. The first General Assembly met in St. Louis, September 19, 1820. Probably the most important act of this session of the legislature was the passage of an act providing for the selection of the State capital. By this act St. Charles was made the capital until October 1, 1826. It also provided for a commission on permanent seat of government. The legislature instructed this commission to select a suitable site for the State capital on the Missouri

² Alexander McNair was a native of western Pennsylvania. The following story is told of McNair. His mother was a widow. She had two sons, Alexander and a younger brother. The little farm she owned was not large enough to divide between the two boys. It was decided that one of the boys should have the farm and take care of the mother, and the other should get out and shift for himself. Both boys wanted to stay at home and take care of their mother. They could not decide who was to stay. It was agreed that their mother should decide which she wanted to stay with her. She said she wanted the best man, that the best way to decide who was the best man was to fight, and the one who whipped could stay with her and have the farm. The boys fought, Alexander got the whipping, left home and joined the army.

In 1799 he was made lieutenant of infantry. His regiment was disbanded the next year and he came to Missouri in 1804. In 1812 he was appointed Adjutant and Inspector General of the territorial forces. He was made colonel of a regiment of Missouri Militia in 1813. He became register of the St. Louis land office in 1816. McNair became very popular with the people because he refused to interpret the law as the land speculators wanted him to, even after he was ordered to do so by his superior in office. He was a member of the constitutional convention, but took little part in the proceedings except to cast his vote. He was a good mixer and had few personal enemies. He did not rank in ability or education with Barton, Benton, Bates and Clark, all of whom lived in St. Louis at the same time. He died in 1826.

River within forty miles of the mouth of the Osage. This commission selected the present site. Two years later the General Assembly passed another act requiring the same commission³ to lay out a city to be called "The City of Jefferson" on the site previously selected.

The first General Assembly also adopted the State Seal which is still used.

Appointive State Officers. One thing that interested the people of that time very much was the selection of the remaining state officers. The constitution provided that the governor by and with the advice of the senate should appoint three judges of the supreme court, the secretary of state, the state treasurer, the attorney general, and the auditor.⁴ The legislature also elected two men to represent Missouri in the United States Senate. David Barton⁵ and

³The commission consisted of five members: John Thompson of Howard County; Robert G. Watson, New Madrid County; John B. White, Pike County; James Logan, Wayne County; and Jessie B. Boone, Montgomery County. Jessie Boone died and was succeeded by Daniel M. Boone.

⁴Governor McNair appointed Mathias McGirk, Montgomery County; John D. Cook, Cape Girardeau County; and John R. Jones, Pike County; judges of the supreme court and Joshua Barton, secretary of state; Peter Didier, state treasurer; Edward Bates, attorney general; and William Christie, auditor; all of St. Louis.

⁵David Barton was born in North Carolina in 1783. He was reared on a farm, received a college education, studied law, and came to Missouri in 1812. He was a very able man, made many friends, and few enemies. He served for a time as circuit judge, was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention and selected as its chairman. He had more influence in the convention than any other man and is said to have written most of the constitution. Barton was elected first United States senator from Missouri. He served ten years in the Senate, but was defeated for re-election in 1830, because he was anti-Jackson. He became insane and died in Boonville in 1837.

Thomas H. Benton were chosen. Barton was elected on the first ballot by a unanimous vote. Benton was elected by a majority of one vote after a very bitter fight⁶. Benton⁷ soon became the leader in Missouri politics and served in the United States Senate for thirty years.

⁶ Benton had many enemies. He had killed Charles Lucas, the son of his leading opponent J. B. C. Lucas, in a duel three years before. He had been repeatedly accused by the "Gazette" of being the leader of the lawyer caucus. But Barton wanted Benton, and he had great influence. After the fight had been on for some time Benton still lacked one vote. Several of Benton's French friends, including Auguste Chouteau decided to try to convert one of the French followers of Lucas. They selected a man named LeDuc, and worked with him all night. Finally he agreed to vote for Benton. But one of the Benton men, Daniel Ralls, was very sick at the hotel where the legislature was in session. When the time came to vote, Ralls was too sick to even raise his head. The Benton men had four big negroes carry the bed with Ralls on it down stairs into the room where the legislature was in session. When Ralls' name was called he voted for Benton, and Benton was elected by one vote. Ralls was carried back to his room where he died a short time afterwards.

⁷ Thomas H. Benton was born in 1782 in North Carolina. His father died when he was eight years old. His mother moved to Tennessee. Benton received a college education, studied law, and was elected to the state senate of Tennessee. His health began to fail and it seemed that he would die of tuberculosis. The second war with England was going on. He decided he would rather be killed fighting for his country than die of disease. He raised a regiment and was made colonel. He never got into any battles, but the outdoor life cured the disease. While in the army he was with General Jackson. He went to Washington once on business for Jackson. While he was gone, Benton's brother, Jessie, got into a quarrel with a friend of Jackson's. A duel was fought and Jackson acted as second for the enemy of Jessie Benton. When Benton found it out, he was very angry at Jackson, and wrote some letters in which he used harsh language. Jackson declared he would horse whip Benton on sight. When Benton got home Jackson and his friends attacked the two Bentons. In the fight which followed, Jackson was shot and severely wounded by Jessie Benton, and Jessie Benton was almost killed by one of Jackson's friends.

After this fight Benton knew that Jackson, who was very popular in Tennessee, would always oppose him. For that reason he left Tennessee

Election of 1824. Political parties had not yet been formed in Missouri in 1824. There were two candidates for governor, Frederick Bates and Wm. H. Ashley. Both men were very popular. Bates had served as an official, usually secretary of the territory, throughout almost the entire territorial period and had many friends in St. Louis. Ashley was the most prominent man in the fur trade and was well known and liked by all the people of the frontier. The campaign for governor was without political significance and turned entirely upon the personal popularity of the two candidates. Bates⁸ was elected. Benjamin Reeves was elected lieutenant governor. There was a keen interest in the election of the representative to Congress this year.⁹ There were three candidates, John Scott, George Strothers, and Robert Walsh. John Scott was elected over Strothers, his nearest opponent, by a plurality of about five hundred.

and came to Missouri in 1815. He practiced law, started the "Enquirer," the second newspaper west of the Mississippi, and was elected to the United States Senate in 1820. It is not necessary here to tell the story of his life after 1820, as it is closely connected with the history of the state for the next thirty-six years.

⁸ Frederick Bates was born in Virginia in 1777. When twenty years of age he moved to Detroit, Michigan and became a merchant. He also kept the postoffice. Here he learned the French language. In 1805 he was appointed United States judge for Michigan Territory. The next year he was appointed secretary of state for the Territory of Louisiana. He served as secretary of state under all the territorial governors of Missouri, and was acting governor between terms. He was author of a compilation of the laws of the territory published in 1808. This was the first book published west of the Mississippi. He was elected Governor in 1824 and died in office August 4, 1825.

⁹ There were four candidates for president: Jackson, Clay, Crawford and Adams. Jackson and Clay were both western men and were strong in Missouri. It seemed likely from the first of the campaign that the election would have to be decided by the House of Representatives. In

The legislature passed a bill making dueling a crime. The penalty for violation of the law was whipping. Governor Bates vetoed the bill, because he could not approve of whipping as the penalty. This was the first veto recorded in Missouri. Governor Bates died August 4, 1825. Benjamin Reeves, who had been elected lieutenant governor, had resigned to accept an official position from the United States Government. Abraham J. Williams of Columbia, became acting governor and called an election to fill the vacancy. At this election Colonel John Miller ¹⁰ of Cooper

case that should happen, Missouri with her one representative would have one vote, the same as New York or Pennsylvania, the most populous states. This was the reason for the keen interest in the election of congressmen. No candidate received a majority of the electoral vote, and the election was decided by the House of Representatives. Probably a majority of the people of Missouri at that time favored Clay. Certainly John Scott was for him. But Clay could not be voted for in the House of Representatives, because the constitution requires the choice to be made from the three receiving the highest number of electoral votes. Clay stood fourth on the list. Jackson, the other western candidate, would certainly have been the second choice of the people of Missouri. The contest in the House was between Adams and Jackson. The contest was so close that the vote of Missouri might decide it. John Scott, who was a very close personal friend of Clay, was persuaded to vote for Adams and he was elected president. Scott was defeated at the next election in Missouri.

¹⁰ Col. John Miller was born in Virginia, Nov. 25, 1781. He received a common school education and moved to Ohio where he became editor of a newspaper. He was made general of the Ohio militia in 1812, and afterwards a colonel in the United States Army. He served under General Harrison. On one occasion General Harrison called his colonels together and asked them one by one who would undertake the capture of a British battery that was doing much damage. Col. Miller, irritated at the lack of military method, replied "I'll try, sir." He captured the battery. Col. Miller remained in the army until 1817 when he resigned and settled in Cooper County, Missouri. He served as register of land from 1817 to 1825 when he was elected governor. He was re-elected for a full term in 1828 without opposition, and thus served as governor of Missouri for seven years. No other man has served more than four years. In 1836 he was elected to Congress and served for eight years. He died in St. Louis in 1846.

County was elected governor for the unexpired term. At the election in 1826 Edward Bates was elected to Congress.

The Beginning of Political Parties. When Missouri became a state, there were no well defined political parties. Both the state and national elections of 1824 turned upon the personal popularity of the candidates. There were two western candidates for president, Jackson and Clay. Barton, Benton, and John Scott all supported Clay. But in the contest in the House of Representatives Benton did all he could for Jackson, while Scott and Barton followed the lead of Clay and supported John Quincy Adams.

From 1824 to 1828 political party lines were rapidly developing. Jackson became the recognized leader of one party, and President Adams, supported by Henry Clay, became the leader of the other. The Jackson party took the name "Democrat" and the Adams party was called "Whigs." These lines were not drawn closely in Missouri politics in the election of 1826. Edward Bates and John Scott, the two candidates for representatives, were both anti-Jackson men; and Benton, who was re-elected to the United States Senate that year without opposition, was a strong Jackson man.

Election of 1828. By 1828 party lines were becoming well defined. Early in January the Democrats, the Jackson men, met in Jefferson City and nominated three Jackson men for presidential electors. In March the Whigs met and nominated three Adams men. But the contest was not confined to the electoral tickets. Edward Bates, anti-Jackson, was a candidate for re-election to Congress. He was opposed by two Jackson men, William Carr Lane and Spencer Pettis. It soon became evident that these two men would divide the Jackson vote so nearly equally that Bates

would be elected. Benton, who since 1824 had been recognized as the leader of the Jackson men, was asked to decide which should withdraw. He promptly gave his decision in favor of Pettis, and Lane withdrew. Pettis was elected, and the Jackson electoral ticket carried every county in the State. The vote was 8,272 for the Jackson ticket and 3,400 for the Adams ticket. This great victory for the Jackson party made Benton, its leader, the political dictator of the State for the next twenty years.

Election of 1830. In the election of 1830 the Whig and Democratic parties were well organized, and political lines were drawn upon issues as well as upon men. The Democrats following Jackson were beginning to oppose the United States Bank. The Whigs, following Henry Clay, favored the United States Bank and a protective tariff. The Democrats carried the State, re-elected Spencer Pettis¹¹ and defeated David Barton for re-election to the United States Senate, electing Alexander Buckner, a Jackson Democrat, to succeed him. Benton, who owed his first election to Barton, now used all his influence against Barton's re-election. Benton and Barton had become aligned with the opposing political parties.

¹¹ Pettis was killed soon after the election in a duel with Major William Biddle. Biddle was a brother of Nickolas Biddle, President of the United States Bank. Biddle had attacked Pettis through the press during the campaign. Pettis had replied. Biddle called very early one morning at the hotel where Pettis was staying. Pettis, who had been up late the night before, was not up and refused to get up. Biddle went to his room and commenced horsewhipping Pettis. This created great excitement, and the two men were soon separated. Pettis challenged Biddle. Biddle accepted, chose pistols as weapons, and being near sighted, made the distance five feet. The men were so close together that the muzzles of the long pistols passed each other. Both men were killed. Pettis was only twenty-nine years old at the time of his death.

Election of 1832. President Jackson vetoed the bill which rechartered the United States Bank. This made the bank question the issue at the election of 1832. Jackson carried Missouri over Henry Clay, the Whig candidate. The contest seems to have been very close. Lieutenant Governor Daniel Dunklin,¹² the Democratic candidate, was elected by a plurality of about one thousand, and Lillian W. Boggs, the Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, was elected by fewer than one thousand plurality. The Whig candidate for Congress was General Wm. H. Ashley¹³ who had been elected to succeed Spencer Pettis. Gen. Ashley was elected over his Democratic opponent by a majority of 662. Ashley was very popular, especially with

¹² Daniel Dunklin was born in South Carolina in 1790. He moved to Kentucky in 1807 and came to Potosi, Missouri in 1810. He was a member of the first Constitutional Convention, and lieutenant governor from 1828 to 1832. He was elected governor in 1832, but resigned in 1836, three months before the close of his term, to accept the office of Surveyor-General of Illinois, Missouri and Arkansas, offered him by President Jackson. He surveyed the boundary line between Missouri and Arkansas. He died in 1844.

¹³ General W. H. Ashley was born in Virginia in 1785. He went to Ste. Genevieve, Missouri in 1803 and became a manufacturer of saltpeter in Washington County. He soon became a merchant. Later he was a surveyor under William Rector, the first surveyor general of Missouri. Surveying gave Ashley a knowledge of the location of the best land. This knowledge he used to good advantage in land purchases. He moved to St. Louis in 1819 and became a dealer in real estate. He was elected lieutenant governor in 1820; was a candidate for governor in 1824, but was defeated. Ashley engaged extensively in the fur trade. He sent large numbers of men up the Missouri and into the Rocky Mountains. He is said to have taken the first cannon into the mountains, a six pounder, which was used to defend his fort. After serious losses Gen. Ashley made a great deal of money in the fur trade. He was elected to Congress in 1831 and served for five years. He died in 1839, and was buried near the Lamine River in Cooper County on a 20,000 acre estate which he owned.

the pioneers of the western part of the State. His personal popularity enabled him to overcome the small Democratic majority. After 1832 Missouri was allowed two congressmen. Dr. John Bull of Howard County was elected in 1832 and served one term when he was succeeded by Albert G. Harrison of Calloway County. Ashley and Harrison served until the end of the period (1836).

Senator Buckner lost his life during the cholera epidemic in St. Louis in 1833. Governor Dunklin appointed Dr. Lewis F. Linn¹⁴ of Ste. Genevieve County to succeed Buckner. Dr. Linn was re-elected in 1836. The legislature of 1832 authorized the governor to pay off the State debt. It also ordered a state penitentiary to be built.

¹⁴ Dr. Lewis F. Linn, called "The Model Senator from Missouri," was born in Kentucky in 1795. His mother, whose maiden name was Ann Hunter, was first married to Israel Dodge. Her eldest son Henry Dodge, half-brother of Senator Linn, later became United States Senator from Wisconsin and had a son who became United States Senator from Iowa. Thus Ann Hunter was the mother of two United States Senators and the grandmother of another.

Dr. Linn studied medicine in Kentucky and Pennsylvania. He came to Ste. Genevieve, where his half brother Henry Dodge lived, to begin the practice of medicine. He became the most famous doctor of Missouri. His self-sacrificing service on all occasions, but especially during the cholera epidemic, caused him to be loved by every one who knew him. In 1833 he was appointed to the senate by Governor Dunklin and served until his death in 1843. He was so well liked in the senate that he never failed to get a bill through, and he introduced many measures beneficial to Missouri and the country. Through the efforts of Dr. Linn, the Platte Purchase Bill passed the Senate. He pushed through so many bills of benefit to the people of Iowa that Iowa claimed him as her senator. His greatest work in the Senate was his Oregon bill. Through the operation of this law the American people settled and held the Oregon country. Dr. Linn is often called "The Father of Oregon" because of this piece of legislation. Dr. Linn died suddenly at Ste. Genevieve in 1843.

Effort to Obtain a New Constitution. A great deal of dissatisfaction had developed because of some clauses of the State constitution and an effort was made to secure a constitutional convention. The clause of the constitution which provided for the appointment of the State officers and the judges and especially the life term of the judges, was not approved of by the new brand of Andrew Jackson democracy which had become dominant in Missouri. The Democrats believed in making all offices elective. Many people wanted a constitutional convention for the purpose of securing a readjustment of representation in the General Assembly. The constitution contained the following clause: "Each county shall have at least one representative, but the whole number of representatives shall never exceed one hundred." There were in 1820 fifteen counties with a total of forty-three representatives. In 1836 there were sixty counties and ninety-eight representatives. The new counties were thinly populated, but each one had to have one representative. Yet according to the constitution the number of representatives for the entire State could not exceed one hundred. This caused inequality in representation. The number of representatives in the older, more populous counties had to be reduced in order to give representatives to the new counties. The older and richer counties were usually Whig and the new pioneer counties were always Democratic. This growing inequality was favorable to the Democrats and yet at the same time was undemocratic. This made the Whigs want a constitutional convention. The General Assembly in 1835 submitted a resolution calling a constitutional convention. The resolution made the county the basis of representation in the convention. This

made it certain that the frontier counties would control the convention if it were called. Therefore the more populous communities voted against the resolution and it was defeated. The vote stood: for the convention, 5,445; against it, 10,756.

Election of 1836. On January 8, Jackson Day, 1836 a caucus of Democratic party leaders met at Jefferson City and nominated Lieutenant Governor Lillian W. Boggs for governor and Franklin Cannon for lieutenant governor. Later the Whigs met and nominated their most popular man William H. Ashley for governor and James Jones for lieutenant governor. The State election under the first constitution occurred in August. The campaign was exciting. Party lines were closely drawn. Twenty-seven thousand eight hundred and seventy-two votes, a large number for that time, were polled. Boggs and Cannon were elected. Ashley's personal popularity had been sufficient to overcome the Democratic majority in the congressional elections for the preceding five years. But he failed as a candidate for governor in 1836, probably because political lines were becoming more and more closely drawn. If Ashley could not win, no Whig could win in Missouri. Therefore, the November election excited little interest. The total vote polled was only 18,332. The Van Buren electors carried the State by a safe majority. Missouri remained consistently Democratic until the Civil War.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER III

1. What officers were elected at the first election of state officers?
2. Describe the "caucus." Who were members?
3. Give a brief account of the life of Alexander McNair.
4. What plans were made for a state capital at the first session of the legislature?

5. Tell the story of Benton's election to the United States Senate.

6. Why was the election of a congressman in Missouri of special importance in 1824? Who was elected?

7. Who was the second governor of Missouri? Why did he veto the bill making dueling a crime?

8. Tell of the beginning of political parties in Missouri.

9. Give a brief sketch of the life of Colonel John Miller.

10. What evidence was there of the existence of political parties in 1828? Give the vote for each party.

11. Why was Barton defeated in 1830? Who succeeded him as senator?

12. What was the chief issue in Missouri in 1832? How did the vote stand in the state election?

13. Give a sketch of the life of General Ashley.

14. Who was Dr. Linn? Why was he so popular?

15. Why did some people want a new constitution?

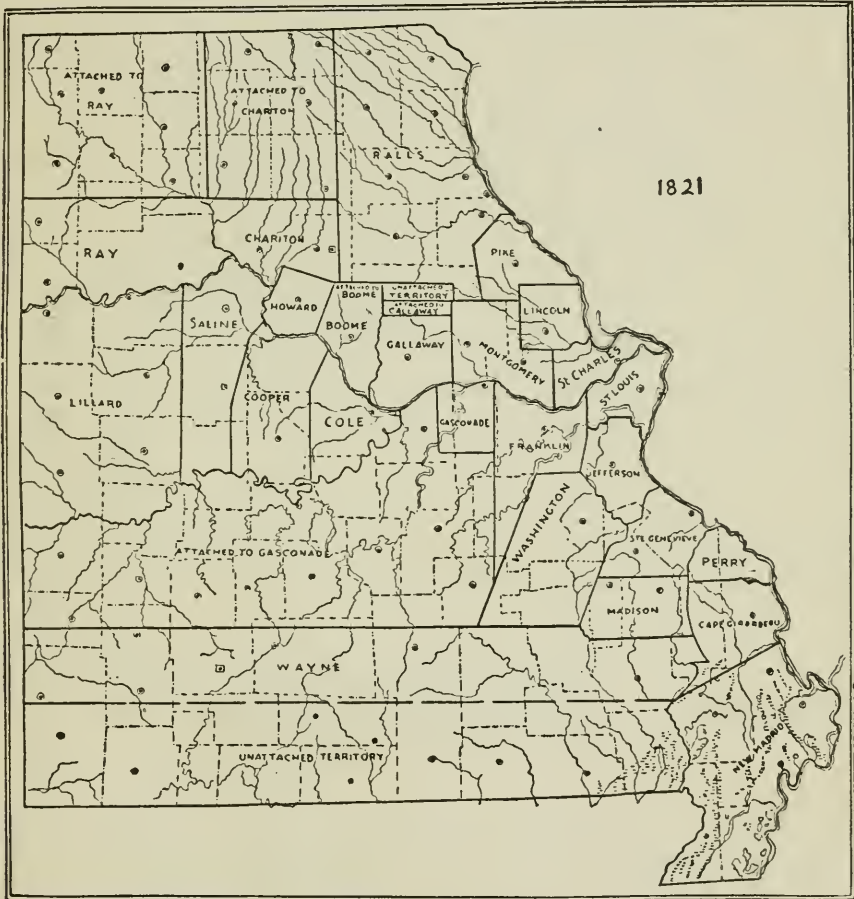
16. Why was the resolution calling a constitutional convention defeated?

17. Why was the vote polled at the November election 1836 so much smaller than the vote that had been polled in August of the same year?

CHAPTER IV

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT 1820-1836

The Growth. The social and economic life in Missouri during the period 1820-1836 was essentially a pioneer life. The pioneer cleared the forest, fought the Indian, killed the wild beasts, and endured malaria. He was ever-



MISSOURI COUNTIES IN 1821

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MISSOURI COUNTIES IN 1830

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of the University of Missouri

optimistic and confident of his own power. With his ax and his rifle he conquered the wilderness, provided for a large family and laid the foundations for a great State.

One of the best indications of the growth of the State is the organization of the counties. In 1820 there were fifteen counties. In 1836 the number had increased to fifty-five.

The people had pushed up the Missouri to the western boundary, forming a tier of counties on either side of the river. They had also pushed up the Mississippi to the northern boundary. The settlers soon began pushing back from the rivers up the small streams and a second tier of counties was organized. Another group of immigrants pushed southwest from St. Louis along the divide now followed by the St. Louis and San Francisco Railroad to the level plateau in the southwestern part of the State and in 1833 organized Greene County. In a short time a group of counties was organized in that section of the State.¹ The increase in population during this period was very great. In sixteen years the population had doubled twice. In 1820 there were 66,586 people living in the State. In 1840, four years after the close of the period, there were 383,702.

St. Louis. In 1820 St. Louis was a city of about 5,000 people. Its assessed valuation was nearly one million dol-

¹ The following list of counties arranged according to the year of organization will enable the reader to trace on the map the growth of the various sections of the State. Counties organized before the organization of the state government Sept. 19, 1820: Cape Girardeau, Clark, Cooper, Franklin, Howard, Jefferson, Lincoln, Madison, Montgomery, New Madrid, Pike, St. Charles, Ste. Genevieve, St. Louis, Washington, Wayne.

After organization of the State Government:

1820—Boone, Calloway, Chariton, Cole, Gasconade, Lafayette, Perry, Ralls, Saline, Ray.

1821—St. Francis, Scott.

1822—Clay.

1826—Jackson, Marion.

1829—Crawford, Randolph.

1831—Monroe.

1832—Pulaski.

1833—Carrol, Clinton, Green, Lewis, Morgan, Pettis, Ripley, Warren.

1834—Henry, Johnson.

1835—Barry, Benton, Cass, Polk, Shelby, Stoddard.

1836—Audrain, Caldwell, Davies.

lars. There were more than one hundred business houses and over six hundred residences. The first steamboat had arrived at the city just three years before, and commerce was beginning to increase because of the new method of transportation. In 1822 the State legislature passed an act incorporating St. Louis as a city. The next spring a city election was held and William Carr Lane was elected the first mayor. The city was divided into wards, and civic improvement was promoted. Mayor Lane was especially interested in building good wharfs for the advancement of the trade of the city. The growth of the city was gradual until 1833 when population and business began to increase rapidly. By the end of the period (1836) St. Louis had a population of about 10,000. The increase in trade was even greater than the increase in population. Steamboat arrivals had reached nearly two thousand annually. The railroad convention of that year shows the interest of the people in expanding commerce.

The Fur Trade. St. Louis was founded by Laclede as a trading post, and the fur trade was the chief business of the city during the territorial days. St. Louis is to-day (1920) the first city in the world in the value of furs bought and sold. But the first sixteen years of Missouri statehood marks the most interesting as well as the most profitable period in the history of the trade. Furs formed a part of the Sante Fe trade which began in 1821. But the great impetus to the fur trade came from Lieutenant Governor William H. Ashley. Ashley organized the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in 1822. This company sent traders up the Platte River, across the mountains to Salt Lake, and even to the Pacific Coast. Ashley improved the trade in three ways. Instead of

depending entirely upon the Indian trade he hired white men for trappers. He introduced the annual rendezvous² at appointed places where his men met the trappers, leaving supplies and gathering the furs accumulated during the year. He used pack trains for carrying his furs and supplies. The fur trader had heretofore been compelled to work near the navigable streams, but Ashley's pack trains enabled the trappers and traders to go anywhere they could find the best furs. Ashley's trappers traversed the great mountain region from the head waters of the Missouri to the Rio Grande and from the Columbia to southern California. They, rather than Fremont, were the real pathfinders.³ By 1830 Ashley had made a fortune in the fur trade, and retired. John

² Turner in his "Rise of the New West," describes these meeting places as follows: "Yearly, in June and July, a rendezvous was held in the mountains, to which the brigades of trappers returned with the products of their hunt, to receive the supplies for the coming year. Here also came Indians to trade, and bands of free trappers, lone wanderers in the mountains, to sell their furs and secure supplies. The rendezvous was usually some verdure-clad valley or park, set in the midst of snow-capped mountains, a paradise of game."

³ Jedediah Smith was one of the most daring of these trappers. In 1826 he left the Salt Lake rendezvous, traveled southwest to the head waters of the Colorado, then down that river and across the desert to southern California, then north about three hundred miles. He then crossed the mountains south of the Humbolt River and returned to Salt Lake. The next year he returned to California by the Humbolt River route, and pushed north into the Oregon Lake region. Here his men were all killed by the Indians. Smith escaped and made his way alone to the British post at Vancouver where he wintered. In the spring of 1829 he ascended the Columbia and reached the rendezvous of his company. In three years he had explored and made known the principal natural routes of travel between the great Salt Lake and the Pacific. In 1831 while traveling on the Sante Fe trail near the southwestern corner of the present state of Kansas, Smith and his companions got lost. They reached the Cimaron River, almost dead from thirst. While digging for water in the sandy bed of the river, Smith was shot by an Indian.

Jacob Astor's company, known as the American Fur Company crushed out or absorbed its rivals and secured a monopoly of all the fur trade west of the Mississippi River. In 1834 Astor retired and the company came under control of a group of St. Louis fur traders headed by Chouteau. The fur trade was very profitable. Many St. Louis merchants laid the foundation of their fortunes in this trade. But after the pioneer period, the romance and excitement gave way to the business methods of the monopoly. These methods aroused the intense hatred of the trappers and small traders, but they brought large and regular profits to the company.

The Sante Fe Trade and Trail. Long before Missouri became a state, efforts had been made to open trade with the Spaniards at Sante Fe. All these efforts had failed, and the traders had usually been thrown into Spanish prisons for a term of several years. The year Missouri was admitted, the Sante Fe trade had its real beginning. William Becknell of Franklin, Missouri, led the first successful trading expedition to Sante Fe.⁴ The same year, the Mexicans declared their independence of Spain. The officials of the Mexican government charged the Americans high tariff duties, but they did not imprison them as the Spaniards had done. The "handsome profit" made by the Becknell expedition in 1821 caused three expeditions to be undertaken the next year. One of these was led by Becknell.

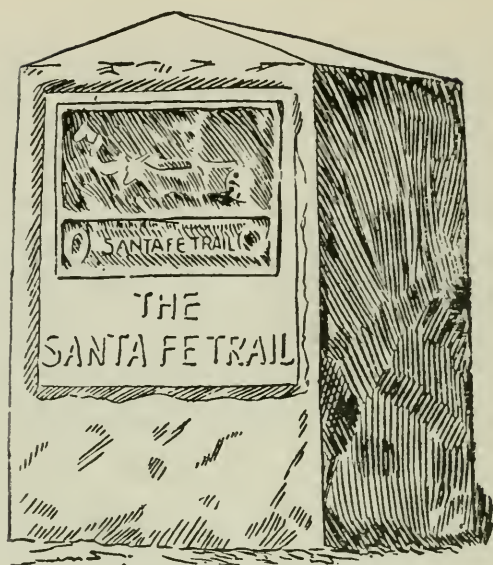
⁴ This expedition was organized in August, 1821, and from the Articles of Agreement which the men were to sign, seems to have been both a trading and trapping expedition. There were between twenty and thirty men in the company. Each contributed an equal amount of the capital. They left Arrow Rock September 1, 1821 and returned January 22, 1822, having made "a handsome profit" on the trip.



A MISSOURI PACK TRAIN TO SANTA FE, 1820

From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society

He used wagons instead of pack mules, and took a more direct route than he had taken the previous year. The expedition was a much greater success than the first one. After 1822 the trade grew rapidly. Two great difficulties confronted the traders. One was Mexican tariffs, and the other was the Indians of the plains. The Missouri traders appealed to the United States government for protection. Through the influence of Senator Benton, Congress in 1824 appropriated money to survey and mark the trail, to make treaties with the Indian tribes between Missouri and the Mexican border. The trail was surveyed and marked by Benjamin Reeves and George C. Sibley. President Adams appointed American consuls for Santa Fe and Chihuahua. It was the duty of these officials to



SANTA FE TRAIL MARKER

that the American traders were treated fairly. The trade was three times as great in 1826 as it had been in 1824. In 1827 the profits were very great, and there was no report of Indian robberies or tariff difficulties. The next year the quantity of goods and the number of men engaged in the trade was doubled. But the Mexicans had put a new tariff in operation, and had prohibited the importation of a number of the articles the traders had brought with them. On the return trip the Indians gave the traders serious trouble.⁵ This led to more appeals to the United States government for protection. These failed to bring the desired results and the traders organized as a military company and protected themselves.

⁵ "Two young men belonging to one caravan and one belonging to another were killed. The first company was robbed of nearly a thousand horses and mules, while the second lost all its animals, and the men were forced to abandon their wagons, walking the hundreds of miles back to Missouri."—Stephens, Mo. Hist. Review, Vol. X, p. 289.

The trade was still very profitable, bringing returns that varied from thirty or forty per cent to two thousand per cent. The average number of men engaged in the trade in the earlier years was about ninety. Two-thirds of these were owners and one-third employees. By the end of our period the average number of men engaged in the trade was more than one hundred seventy-five, and not more than twenty were owners. Thus the trade passed more and more into the hands of the capitalist, as the fur trade did, and the common man became an employee instead of a partner in the business. The cargo of the trader was chiefly cotton goods. He brought back furs, horses and mules,⁶ and silver.

Money and Banks. The pioneer could get along without money or with very little money. But even the pioneer needed some money. When Missouri was admitted, she had one bank, but it failed in 1822 and the money it had issued became worthless. Missouri never chartered another bank during the pioneer period. A branch of the United States Bank was established at St. Louis in 1829 but ceased to exist in 1833. During the remainder of the period Missouri was without a bank. There was no money in the State except the wildcat paper money⁷ from other states and the silver which came to the State through the Sante Fe trade.

⁶ Dr. Stephens in his article on Missouri and the Sante Fe trade says: "Missouri apparently owes her pre-eminence in the mule-raising industry to the early impetus received from the Sante Fe trade. As early as 1823 it was noted that the returning caravan included four hundred Jacks, Jennets, and mules." Every year hundreds of these animals were brought back by the traders. In 1832 the number reached thirteen hundred.

⁷ "Wildcat money" was the name given to the paper money issued by state banks. The state banks were chartered and given the right to issue paper money. In most cases the state laws providing for bank charters failed to require the banks to limit the amount of paper money according

But the silver money was always good money and no one ever lost on it because of a bank failure. Missouri was the only state in the Union that did not have a bank. Missouri had the silver from the Sante Fe trade and did not want a bank. She had better money than a bank could make. Benton, supported by a majority of the people of the State, steadily refused to allow a state bank to be chartered until after 1836. Later when the General Assembly of Missouri did charter a bank, the amount and kind of paper money that it could issue was prescribed by law so the bank would always have hard money (gold and silver) enough to redeem its issue of paper money. The statesman and leaders who refused to charter wildcat banks encouraged the Sante Fe trade. They expected the hard money brought into the State through this trade to furnish the people money with which to carry on business.

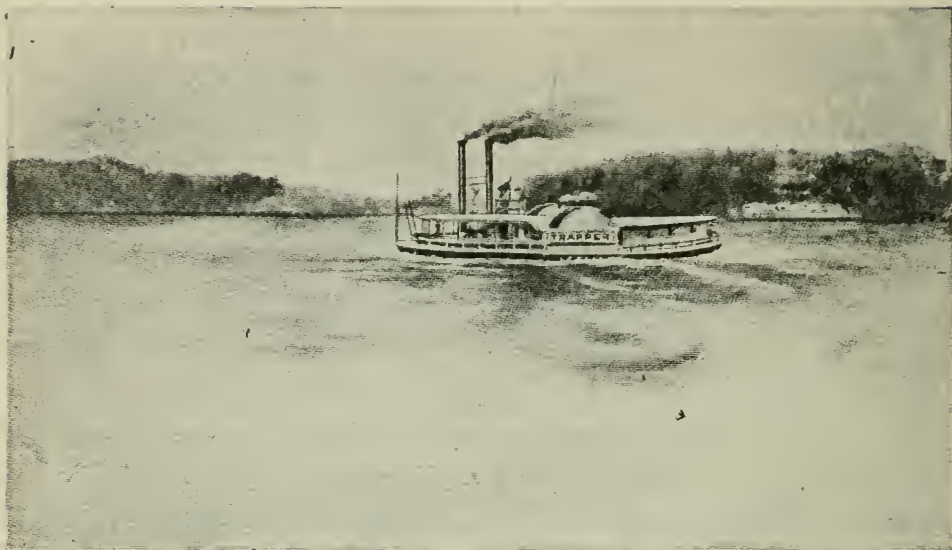
The Steamboat Traffic. The steamboat traffic in Missouri was just beginning in 1820. The first steamboat had arrived at St. Louis just three years before, and the first steamboat voyage up the Missouri was made in 1819. The steamboat gradually supplanted other types of boats. By the end of the period it was the chief vessel used in the river trade, although much of the down-stream commerce was still carried in flatboats. From 1820 to 1836 more than six

to the gold and silver capital the bank had with which to redeem the paper money. Many banks in other states issued a large amount of paper money and got it into circulation in Missouri. When the money began coming back to the bank for redemption the bank failed, closed its doors and went out of existence. All people who had money issued by that bank simply lost it. That meant that the hogs, cattle, corn, or whatever product they had sold for that money had been taken from them legally (not directly but indirectly) by the men who had organized the bank and issued the worthless money.

hundred steamboats were built for the Mississippi trade, but sixty-five were lost during the same period by explosions.⁸ In 1833 repair docks were opened at St. Louis, and about the same time an insurance company was organized there for the purpose of insuring steamboats and their cargoes. In 1834 there were 234 steamboats on the Mississippi and its tributaries. During June 1836 seventy-six different steamers arrived at St. Louis, and the total number of entries was one hundred forty-six.

Indians. The Indians gave very little trouble during the period. The success of the government in dealing with the Indians of Missouri was due to the tact and ability of Captain William Clark. Clark became Indian agent on his return from the famous Lewis and Clark expedition, and served until 1812 when he was appointed governor of the territory. He was again appointed Indian agent soon after the State was admitted and served until his death in 1838. He had the pleasure of seeing the final departure of the Indians from Missouri soil in 1832. It was William Clark who in 1836 made the treaty with the Indians for the Platte Purchase, by which they surrendered that country to the white man and moved west of the Missouri River.

⁸ Disaster to steamboats in the days of the great steamboat traffic was very frequent. Explosions were not the only causes. Fires were frequent, snags and sand-bars in the river, collisions, and breaking of machinery all contributed their share to the list. A list of disasters published in *De Bow's Review* in 1849 including disasters from 1816 to 1848 puts the total number of steamboats lost at 233. The property loss is placed at \$3,090,365. The number of killed and wounded in these accidents is given as 4,660 of whom 2,563 were killed. The "*Western Boatman*" for 1848 says that about fifty per cent of all steamboats are worn out and fifty per cent are lost by accident of some kind; that the average length of service of those worn out is five years and of the other class four years.



PIONEER STEAMBOAT ON THE MISSOURI

From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State, by permission of the Missouri Historical Society

Two Indian Wars of the thirties affected Missouri. The first was the Black Hawk War in Illinois in 1832. Fearing Indian raids, Governor Miller ordered General Richard Gentry to raise one thousand volunteers for service in guarding the frontier. The thousand men were secured, and the frontier in Clark County was guarded during the summer and fall.

The second was the Seminole War in Florida. The United States government had attempted to remove the Indians from Georgia and Florida. They refused to go and took up arms. The war dragged on for several years. Finally the United States government called on Missouri for a regiment⁹ of troops for the Seminole War. Colonel

⁹ Missouri was the only state called upon to furnish volunteers for the Seminole War. President Van Buren asked Senator Benton if he thought that Missourians could be induced to go so far from home as Florida to

Richard Gentry was given the task of raising the regiment. He quickly secured the required number of volunteers and in a short time was leading his men against the Indians in the swamps of Florida where he was killed in battle. This was the last of Missouri's Indian troubles.

Schools, Churches and Social Organizations. In this pioneer age not a great deal of attention could be given to schools and churches by the average citizen. Yet this side of life was not forgotten. The constitution declared that "Schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged in this state." The act of Congress which admitted Missouri set apart the sixteenth section of every township and seventy-two sections of Saline lands for school purposes: But the progress of schools was slow. About fifty schools

assist in fighting the Seminole Indians. Senator Benton answered: "The Missourians will go wherever their services are needed." Benton went immediately to J. R. Poinsett, Secretary of War, and urged him to issue an order for raising volunteers in Missouri. Poinsett wrote a letter to Colonel Richard Gentry under date of September 8, 1837 telling him that the war department would accept a regiment of Missouri volunteers if it could be raised and got to Tampa Bay, Florida, by the middle of October or the first of November at the latest. This was a very short time to raise a regiment and get it to Tampa Bay, Florida under the conditions of travel of that time. If Poinsett intended to make the time so short that Colonel Gentry would not undertake the task he was mistaken in his estimate. Under the conditions of travel of that time Colonel Gentry could not have received Poinsett's letter before the middle of September, yet he raised the regiment and left Columbia on October 6. He marched overland to Jefferson Barracks below St. Louis. There he and his men were mustered into the service of the United States. After being detained several days they were transported to Tampa Bay where they arrived November 15. On December 1st, in company with the regular army, they left Tampa Bay for the interior. They had marched about seventy miles when they met the Indians. The Indians were defeated but Colonel Gentry was killed, and about one hundred of his men killed or wounded.

were organized between 1820 and 1833. In 1833 the legislature authorized the governor to appoint a committee to formulate a system of common and primary schools. This committee reported a plan for a school system which was enacted into law by the legislature in 1835. This act provided for teaching reading, writing, arithmetic, and English grammar.

Three great churches, following the example of the Methodists in 1816, established state wide organizations. The Catholic Diocese of St. Louis was formed in 1826. The Presbyterian Synod was organized in 1832, and the Baptist General Conference was established in 1834. The Missouri Temperance Society was organized in 1832. Two great fraternal orders also effected state organizations; the Masonic Grand Lodge was organized in 1821 and the Odd Fellows in 1834.

Manners and Customs. The great mass of the people were rough, backwoods pioneers. They had their vices, which were more apparent than their virtues, but underneath there was truth, honesty, and hospitality. The pioneer said little. "I reckon you kin stay" was the best welcome the traveler might expect, but everything the cabin afforded was at the guest's service. The Missouri taverns of the early days were noted for their hospitality. Prices¹⁰ were not high and the tavern keepers usually did all

¹⁰ Joseph Charless, who had edited the "Gazette" for twelve years, decided to retire and keep a tavern. In September, 1821 the following advertisement appeared in the Gazette: "Joseph Charless informs the gentlemen who visit St. Louis and travelers generally that he has opened a house for their reception on the corner of fifth street on the public square of St. Louis where by the moderate charges and attention to the comfort of his guests he will endeavor to meet general approbation. Boarding and lodging per week \$4.50, boarding only \$3.50. Boarding less than a

they could for the comfort of their guests. The travelers of that day were not likely to grumble about the food served.¹¹ While the tavern keeper was hospitable, he expected his guests to be appreciative. All used a common wash room and a common towel.¹² There was no regulation against a common drinking cup in those days. Hunting was business, not sport. Bee hunters were numerous, and bees' wax was an article of export. There was much co-operation in pioneer society. It was "help me and I will help you" at log-rollings, house-raisings, wood-choppings, corn-shuckings, and rail-splittings. Everybody went to a funeral, to a camp meeting, or to county court. The natural ability to govern themselves was never better displayed by the Anglo-Saxon people than in the pioneer days in Missouri. Courts were organized as soon as possible. The justice was frequently ignorant of law, but he usually arrived at a just decision¹³ even though he had to contend with skilled lawyers.

week twenty-five cents per meal. Lodging per night in separate bed twenty-five cents. Lodging where two occupy one bed per night 12½ cents." William G. Rice, a tavern keeper on the Boone's Lick road, told his guests that a dinner, consisting of corn bread and "common fixins" was twenty-five cents, wheat bread and "chicken fixins" 37½ cents.

¹¹ The following story is told of a tavern keeper named Graves. One day a traveler grumbled about the cooking. Graves caught him by the collar, jerked him out of his chair at the table, and kicked him out doors. "The blamed skunk," he said, "he insulted my boarders and I won't stand for it. My boarders eat my fare and like it; and when a man makes fun of my grub, it is the same as saying they haven't sense enough to know good grub from bad. I am bound to protect my boarders."

¹² Judge Quarles, an uncle of Mark Twain, kept a tavern in Paris. A guest came to the landlord with a request for a clean towel in the common wash room. "Sir," said the Judge with some show of reproof, "two hundred men have wiped on that towel and you are the first to complain."

¹³ Squire Lewis, a tavern keeper in Clark County, in one of his first cases was called upon to rule upon many objections raised by the opposing

In addition to these difficulties there were numerous others which the pioneer had to encounter. Reptiles, wild beasts, and disease were ever threatening the pioneer. Probably malaria was the worst of these. Doctors were scarce; people used many home-made remedies. Quinine and calomel were the principal medicines used. As this pioneer period drew to a close it gradually merged into a more progressive stage of civilization.

lawyers. With strict impartiality the Squire ruled in favor of the lawyers alternately. But at the end of the trial, two consecutive rulings were made in favor of the plaintiff. 'Look here,' said the lawyer for the defense, 'Squire, you decided for the other side the last time and this was our turn to get the decision.' 'I know how I done,' said the Squire, with dignity, 'I gave half the *pints* to the plaintiff and half to the defendant, and never put one single *pint* for myself till the close of the case. And then you kick. Seems to me you don't appreciate fair treatment.'

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER IV

1. What indication was there in 1836 of an increased population in Missouri?
2. What part of the State made the most progress during the period?
3. What was the population in 1820? In 1840?
4. Draw a sketch map of the State and draw a line around the organized counties in 1820; another around those in 1836.
5. What was the population of St. Louis in 1820? The assessed valuation of its property?

PART III

MISSOURI A STATE IN THE MAKING
1836-1870

CHAPTER I

GENERAL SURVEY

The New Epoch. The second period of Missouri's statehood extends from approximately 1836 to about 1870. During these thirty-four years Missouri was a state in the making.¹ "This period marked the transition of Missouri from colony to colonizer; from a pioneer community to a settled commonwealth; from a frontier state to a state of national importance; from a district of little wealth and population to one great in industries and people. However, there were lacking several important lines of development and activity that are essential to the modern, fully realized American state."

The modern American state not only makes progress and meets the needs of her citizens through the efforts and

¹ Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker has written a most excellent brief survey of Missouri history which is published in "The Missouri Historical Review" of July, 1913. The author has adopted Mr. Shoemaker's organization of periods because they are based upon facts of economic and social development rather than upon dates of the beginning of war. In the chapters on the general survey of the periods Mr. Shoemaker's article has been used freely.

enterprise of individuals, but, as a great political organization, she also takes over these activities that can be managed best by the state under our democratic ideals of government. . Missouri, as a state, did not realize these ideals of governmental activity until about 1870, except in the economic field. Neither did the co-operative social life of Missouri develop on a state-wide plan until about the same date.

The Beginning of the Period. Two important events bear the date 1836, and several important movements have their beginning near that year. The Platte Purchase, which rounded out Missouri's territorial boundaries, was made in 1836, and the first railroad convention was held in St. Louis the same year. The public school system was organized by act of the legislature in 1835. The Missouri State Bank was chartered in 1837. St. Louis, which had grown very slowly during the seventy years of its existence, began a very rapid, healthy growth about 1835. It soon became one of the great cities of the country. Finally, in 1839, the legislature passed an act establishing a State University at Columbia.

General Progress. From 1836 to 1870 the development of Missouri was rapid. In 1836 fifty-five Missouri counties had been established; in 1861 the 114th county, Worth, was organized. In 1840 the population of the State was 383,702; in 1870 the census showed that there were 1,721,295 people living in Missouri. During this period the great German and Irish immigration set in. This was especially large during the forties and fifties. After 1865 many immigrants from north and east settled in the State. Missouri rose in importance in national affairs fully as fast as she grew in population. This was equally true in politics, in war, and

in colonization. We have seen that Missouri was the only state to furnish volunteer troops for the Seminole War. Her part in the Mexican War was equally prominent. No state exercised a greater influence on the destiny of the nation during the Civil War than did Missouri. The colonizing influence of Missouri was felt throughout the West; some states were largely settled by Missourians.

Economic Development. The economic development of Missouri during this period was very great. Her first State bank was established in 1837. The foundation of her present State banking law was enacted in 1857. In 1851 an extensive railroad building era began. Missouri loaned her credit to the various companies. This enabled them to make rapid progress. The railroads in turn greatly developed the State. The nine miles of wood road in 1851 had by 1870 increased to over two thousand miles of steel road. The policy of extending credit to railroads put Missouri in debt about \$25,000,000. The payment of this debt required heavy taxation. In 1856 the revenue of the State was about \$500,000. In 1870 it was nearly three million a year. The advance in agriculture was as rapid as was that of the railroads. In 1850 the value of farmland in Missouri was \$87,000,000 and only seven per cent was improved. In 1870 farm values had risen to \$394,000,000 and twenty per cent of Missouri land was improved. The total taxable wealth of Missouri increased from \$47,000,000 in 1850 to \$575,000,000 in 1870. The chief characteristic of the period was great economic development.

Social Development. Little was accomplished in state-wide social organizations, outside of the field of religion. All the important churches established state-wide organiza-

tions. A beginning was made in state-wide voluntary associations. Examples of these were the State Medical Association, 1850; the State Teachers' Association, 1856; the Agricultural Association, 1853; the Press Association, 1867. The first Woman's Club organized in Missouri was the Woman Suffrage Club of 1867.

Education. In the field of public education, progress was very slow. This period was the day of the private academies and colleges. Almost every community of any wealth had its private academy or college. The greater part of the private schools and colleges that exist to-day were founded between 1836 and 1870. The real advance in public education belongs to the next period rather than to this one. The office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction was not created until 1839, and after two years the office was assumed by the Secretary of State, who held it until 1853. In 1839 there were only 114 public school districts in Missouri, in which a total of 163 months of school were taught. Only 5,000 of the 100,000 children of Missouri attended these schools. The amount of money expended was \$2,300. A real advance was made in public education between 1856 and 1860, but the Civil War was a great detriment to the public schools. In 1870 the schools had begun a rapid development. There were 7,500 school districts which enrolled 280,000 pupils, about one half of the school population of Missouri. In higher public education only the beginnings had been made. The State University was founded in 1839, but was not supported by taxation until 1867. In that year it received an appropriation of \$10,000. In 1870 it had only ten teachers and enrolled only 243 students. No state normal school had yet been

established. The day of public school education was just beginning to dawn.

The Civil War. The Civil War, so far as Missouri was concerned, was an interruption of progress. It retarded industry, schools, religious work, in fact every thing that tends to make a modern, progressive state. The beginning of the new period comes five years after the war is over, after the State is beginning to recover from the effects of war and men have returned to ordinary work. The war will be treated in two chapters in this period as an interruption of progress rather than as the beginning of a new period.

The Aim. The story of the progress of Missouri during the period of "A State in the Making" will be told in five chapters. One will deal with the political annals to 1860, one with social development, and one with economic progress. The story of the war and of reconstruction will be given in two chapters.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER I

1. What are the dates of the second period of Missouri's statehood?
2. What name is given to the period?
3. Why was Missouri not yet a modern state?
4. What events of 1836 mark the beginning of the new period?
5. What indications were there of the beginning of a new period in the years immediately preceding and following 1836?
6. How many counties were there in Missouri in 1836? How many are there now? When was the last county organized? Locate it on the map.
7. What was the population of Missouri in 1840? In 1870?
8. What two classes of foreign immigrants came to Missouri during the period? Can you find the causes of this immigration?
9. How many miles of railroad were built during the period?
10. How much did the building of railroads put the State in debt?
11. What was the valuation of Missouri farm lands in 1870?

12. What was the increase in taxable wealth from 1850-1870?
13. Name some state-wide voluntary associations formed during the period.
14. Compare the public schools with the private schools during the period.
15. How many children were there in the public schools of Missouri in 1839? In 1870? In 1920?
16. What is the aim in part two?
17. With what do the chapters of the period deal?

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL ANNALS 1836-1860¹

Election of 1840. About the time of the beginning of the new period, elections began to be determined more by political issues than by the personality of the candidates. It is true that Benton's personal domination continued long into the new period, but Benton had always depended for his power upon his ability to select the right side of a political issue rather than upon personal popularity.

¹ Results of election 1840-1860 in tabular form:

Election for governor,	
Democrat: Thomas Reynolds.....	29,625
Whig: John B. Clark.....	22,212
Reynold's majority.....	7,413
For president,	
Democrat: Van Buren.....	29,760
Whig: Harrison.....	22,972
	<hr/>
Van Buren's majority.....	6,788

Election of 1844 for governor,	
Hard-Democrat: John C. Edwards.....	36,978
Soft-Democrat: Charles H. Allen.....	31,357
	<hr/>
Edward's majority.....	5,621
For president,	
Democrat: Polk.....	41,369
Whig: Clay.....	31,251
	<hr/>
Polk's majority.....	10,118

With the development of political parties and campaign issues, state elections came to be controlled more and more by national issues. During the four year period 1836-1840

Election of 1848 for governor,	
Democrat: Austin A. King.....	48,921
Whig: James S. Rollins.....	33,968
	<hr/>
King's majority.....	14,953
For president,	
Democrat: Lewis Cass.....	40,077
Whig: Zachary Taylor.....	32,784
	<hr/>
Cass's majority.....	7,406
Election of 1852 for governor,	
Democrat: Sterling Price.....	46,245
Whig: James Winston.....	32,784
	<hr/>
Price's majority.....	13,461
For president:	
Democrat: Franklin Pierce.....	38,353
Whig: Winfield Scott.....	29,984
	<hr/>
Pierce's majority.....	8,369
Election of 1856 for governor,	
Anti-Benton-Democrat: Trusten Polk.....	46,993
American: Robert C. Ewing.....	40,589
Benton-Democrat: Thos. H. Benton.....	27,618
	<hr/>
Polk's plurality.....	6,404
For president,	
Democrat: James Buchanan.....	58,164
American: Millard Fillmore.....	48,524
	<hr/>
Buchanan's majority.....	9,640
Special election, 1857 for governor,	
Democrat: Robert M. Stewart.....	47,975
American: James S. Rollins.....	47,641
	<hr/>
Stewart's majority.....	334

the bank question was the leading question in national politics, and in Missouri various phases of the same question came into prominence. At the election of 1840 Thomas Reynolds² was elected governor. Reynolds was a strong Benton man, and was against a United States Bank and in favor of "hard" money. He was a member of the "Central Clique."³ He and his group worked for "hard" money

Election of 1860 for governor,

Douglas-Democrat: C. F. Jackson 74,446

Constitutional -Unionist: Sample Orr..... 64,583

Breckenridge-Democrat: Hancock Jackson..... 11,415

Republican: James B. Gardenshire..... 6,135

C. F. Jackson's plurality..... 9,863

For president,

Douglas-Democrat: Stephen A. Douglas..... 58,801

Constitutional-Unionists: John Bell..... 58,372

Breckenridge-Democrat: John C. Breckenridge..... 31,317

Republican: Abraham Lincoln..... 17,028

Douglas' plurality..... 429

² Thomas Reynolds was a native of Kentucky. He had lived for some years in Illinois where he had become judge of the State Supreme Court. He came to Howard County, Missouri in 1838, and began the practice of law. He was elected representative and chosen speaker of the House. In 1840 he was elected governor. Governor Reynolds seems to have been an able man. He drew up an act abolishing imprisonment for debt in Missouri. It was one of the shortest laws ever passed. It consisted of the simple sentence: "Imprisonment for debt is hereby forever abolished." On the morning of February 9, 1844, Governor Reynolds asked a blessing at the breakfast table. He had never done so before. After breakfast he went to his office in the Governor's Mansion, and after locking the door and closing the window shutters, committed suicide by shooting himself. He left a note in which he said that slander and abuse of him by his enemies had made his life a burden.

³ The "Central Clique" was the name given to a group of Democratic politicians living in the central part of the State. The men lived in Howard, Saline, Cooper, Cole and Calloway counties. This group worked with Thomas H. Benton and controlled the Democratic party for years.

legislation until they succeeded in 1843 in passing two laws for correcting abuses of the currency.

The Split in Missouri Democracy. In 1839 a financial panic caused most of the banks of the West to suspend specie payment. The Bank of Missouri, which was located at St. Louis, refused to receive the money of these banks.⁴ This caused the merchants of St. Louis a great deal of trouble. Senator Benton and most of the Democratic leaders took the side of the Bank in the controversy, but a large number of Democrats in St. Louis disapproved of the action of the Bank. They organized and voted with the Whigs at the city election in 1840. From St. Louis the division spread to all parts of the State. The supporters of the Bank were called "Hards," and their opponents, "Softs." By the spring of 1844 nearly one-half of the Democratic papers of the State were for the "Softs" and in open opposition to Senator Benton and the "Central Clique."

The Election of 1844. When the Democratic Convention met in Boonville in May, 1844, the "Hards" obtained control of the convention.⁵ The "Hards" had planned to

⁴ The "Missouri Republican" said, "The bank excitement continued very high yesterday. Wherever two or three met the action of the bank was the theme of conversation and in every circle, that we have fallen in with, whatever might be the politics of those composing it, the resolution of the directors was condemned without measure or reserve. In truth, there never has been in this community so universal and unanimous a condemnation of any measure as this. Execrations loud and deep are freely uttered in every quarter by men of all parties."

⁵ The "Hards" and "Softs" were nearly equal in the convention. There were contesting delegations from St. Louis and from Benton County. The "Central Clique" (Hards) had control of the party machinery and both the "Hard" delegations were seated, thus giving the "Hards" control of the convention.

nominate Governor M. M. Marmaduke,⁶ but there was such strong opposition to him among the "Softs" that John C. Edwards, who was thought to be more acceptable to the "Softs," was nominated in place of Marmaduke. The "Softs" did not agree to accept Edwards and later put Judge Charles H. Allen⁷ in the field as a Soft-Democratic candidate for governor. The Whigs did not nominate a candidate and most of them voted for Allen. The real fight in the campaign was on the election of members of the legislature. The "Softs" and the Whigs made a great effort to elect a legislature that would not re-elect Senator Benton. After the August election they claimed they had succeeded, but the "Hards" controlled the party machinery and succeeded in organizing the legislature. Benton was re-elected by a majority of eight votes. Edwards⁸ was elected gover-

⁶ M. M. Marmaduke was born in Virginia in 1791. He died near Arrow Rock, Saline County, Missouri in 1864. He was a colonel in the War of 1812; was considered a member of the "Central Clique"; and was elected lieutenant governor in 1840. When Governor Reynolds committed suicide Marmaduke became governor. He was a follower of Benton, a strong Union man, and did his best to keep his son, John S. Marmaduke, from resigning from the United States army and going into the service of the Confederate States in 1861.

⁷ Judge Allen was usually called "Hoss" Allen, a name he got while holding court. Two lawyers got into an argument and one of them was so noisy that Judge Allen shouted from the bench: "Sit down, Sir, and keep your mouth shut." The lawyer sat down saying: "Well, as you are judge of this court, I guess I will obey you this time." The Judge roared back with an oath, "Sir, I'll let you know that I am not only judge of this court, but I'm a "hoss" besides, and if you don't obey me I'll make you." After this Allen was always referred to by his political opponents as the "Hoss" or as "Hoss" Allen.

⁸ John C. Edwards was born in Kentucky in 1806 and died in California in 1888. He received a good education, was admitted to the bar and moved to Jefferson City, Missouri in 1828. In 1830 he was appointed secretary of state by Governor Miller. He held the office for seven years.

nor. The National Democratic campaign slogan of "Texas and Oregon"⁹ appealed to Missourians, and Polk carried the State over Henry Clay by a majority of more than 10,000.

The Election of 1848. After the re-election of Senator Benton in 1844, the money question ceased to be an issue in Missouri. Even in the latter part of the campaign of 1844 the issue was Benton and anti-Benton rather than "Hards" and "Softs." The Democratic party seemed completely reunited in the elections of 1846 and 1848. Both Oregon and Texas were now a part of the United States. Thus the issues of the campaign of 1844 were no longer issues. The Wilmot Proviso had raised the issue of slavery in the nation. The extreme North had taken the position of the Wilmot Proviso against the extension of slavery in any territory. The extreme South, led by Calhoun, had taken the position that slavery could not be excluded by Congress from any territory. But neither of these views had many supporters in Missouri as early as 1848. In 1847 Missouri legislature endorsed the principle of the Missouri Compromise. This

He was elected to Congress in 1840 and served one term. In 1842 he was left off the slate by the "Central Clique." He soon after developed "Soft" tendencies, but remained loyal to Colonel Benton. This made him an available man as a candidate for governor in 1844. He served his term as governor and left soon after for California. In his farewell message to the legislature Edwards said that the governorship was a despicable office for any man to hold, that two of his predecessors had resigned, a third had committed suicide, and that he had been compelled to go armed to the capitol to protect himself against assassins.

⁹Austin, a Missourian, had led the first colony to Texas and many other Missourians had later gone there. Just two or three years before the election, David Barnett, a Missourian, had led a colony of between three and four hundred Missourians to Oregon. Thus a great many Missourians had a personal interest in seeing Texas and Oregon become a part of the United States.

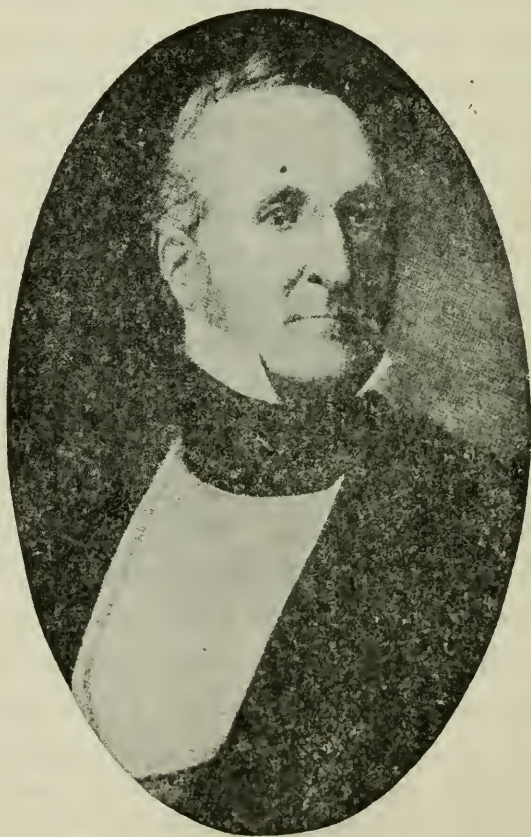
was a "middle of the road" position and certainly represented the opinion of the people of the State at that time. In 1848 the reunited Democrats nominated Judge A. A. King¹⁰ for governor. He was elected by a majority of nearly 15,000 over the Whig candidate, James S. Rollins, the Father of the University, and one of the most cultured and popular men of the State.

A New Issue in Missouri Politics. Slavery had shaken the very foundation of the Union in 1820 when the admission of Missouri had first made the question a national issue. It had been the cause of many stormy debates in Congress. There had been an abolition party in the North and a slavery expansion group in the South. But the people of Missouri had never been seriously divided on the question. In 1820 practically every one was against slavery restriction. Later every one approved of the principle of the Missouri Compromise. But slavery had never been an issue between parties or within a party in the State. Slavery now became the question upon which the victorious Democratic Party split into two factions.

The Jackson Resolutions. When the Missouri legislature met in November, 1848, the slavery question was discussed extensively in Governor King's message. Soon some resolutions on the subject were introduced in the Senate and referred to a committee of which C. F. Jackson was chair-

¹⁰ Austin A. King was born in Tennessee in 1801 and died in Richmond, Missouri in 1870. He came to Missouri and settled in Columbia; he was elected to the State legislature from Boone County as a Whig. Later, he moved to Ray County and became a Democrat. King was appointed circuit judge and served eight years. He was governor from 1848 to 1852. He was a strong Union man during the Civil War and was elected to Congress by the Union Party in 1862.

man. These were later reported out and passed by the Senate, and finally on March 6, 1849 they were passed by the House. These resolutions were very similar to some resolutions which Calhoun had previously introduced in the United States Senate. Both sets of resolutions declared that Congress had no right to prohibit slavery in any territory. Senator Benton had vigorously opposed the Calhoun Resolution in the Senate. The Missouri legislature now instructed him to work for resolutions of a similar nature.



THOMAS H. BENTON

From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State,
by permission of the Missouri Historical Society

Benton's Appeal to the People. Senator Benton declared he would not support the Jackson Resolutions and appealed to the people of Missouri to support his position¹¹ on the slavery question. He claimed the Jackson Resolutions were mere copies of the Calhoun Resolutions, and that the spirit of nullification, disunion, and treason lurked in them. Benton made an extensive speaking tour during the spring and summer of 1849 in which he carried his appeal to every part of the State. The Democratic Party was split into two factions. This time as in 1844, the factions were Benton and anti-Benton.¹² This factional fight within the Democratic Party had its beginning in 1840 on the money question, was renewed on the Jackson Resolutions in 1849 and lasted until the Civil War. The contest attracted the attention of the entire nation. Benton had already served longer in the United States Senate than any other man. He had ranked with Clay, Calhoun, and Webster in prominence and influence in that body. And the question at issue in the campaign was one in which the whole nation was vitally concerned. This accounts for the nation-wide interest in the contest in Missouri. Benton's speeches read after the Civil War show a surprising grasp of the situation, and a far-seeing statesmanship which many people could not, at that time, understand. They were full of patriotic appeals for the Union. But they were also full of ridicule, sarcasm and personal abuse

¹¹ Benton advocated the application of the principles of the Missouri Compromise to the new territory. His position was a compromise position. He opposed agitation of the question.

¹² Many of the leaders of the anti-Benton men in 1849 were the men who were leaders of the "Softs" in 1844. David R. Atchison, C. F. Jackson, and Carty Wells were notable leaders in both movements.

directed at his opponents.¹³ Benton attempted to place the issue above party politics. But the Whigs had fought him too long to support him now, although they had voted against the Jackson Resolutions. Besides they thought they saw in the division of the Democratic Party an opportunity to elect a Whig to the United States Senate.

The Election of 1850. The appeal of Benton was made in the summer of 1849. During the following winter various phases of the slavery question occupied the time of Congress. Benton consistently supported the Missouri Compromise line and the Union. In the spring and summer of 1850 a

¹³ Benton treated his opponents as personal enemies. His attitude toward the group of former friends and supporters at Fayette, known as the "Fayette Clique," is typical of his methods throughout the contest. The Fayette politicians were unanimous in supporting C. F. Jackson and his resolutions. Benton made an appointment to speak at Fayette at two o'clock one Saturday. At the same time he swore he would not eat, drink, or sleep in Fayette. The appointed time came, a great crowd had gathered to hear the speech, but no one had seen or heard of Benton. Some were beginning to say that the Old Roman's courage had failed him. At ten minutes past two a dust was seen down the road toward Boonville. Soon a carriage driven furiously, the horses flecked with foam, emerged from the cloud of dust and drew up at the court house square. Senator Benton got out of the carriage, walked straight through the crowd to the court house door without looking to the right or the left or speaking to an individual. He walked into the crowded assembly room, up to the speaker's stand, which was surrounded by old acquaintances and life-time friends, and never spoke to a man. He immediately began his speech without an introduction. For two hours he drove home his arguments, but the speech was filled with sarcasm, ridicule, and personal abuse directed at his old friends who were sitting around him on the platform. That speech can hardly be equaled for personal denunciation. As soon as he had finished speaking, Benton, without greeting a single person, went straight to his carriage and was driven back to Boonville. Such treatment of one's political opponents is not likely to convert them or secure votes.

three sided canvass was carried on in Missouri. The Benton-Democrats usually controlled the party machinery and the regular ticket contained only Benton men. The anti-Benton men bolted and nominated an anti-Benton ticket. When the anti-Benton men were in a majority in a county and made the regular ticket, the Benton men bolted and nominated a Benton ticket. The Whigs nominated legislative candidates in all counties and made a strong effort to get control of the General Assembly. The division of the Democratic vote enabled the Whigs to elect legislators in many Democratic counties. The General Assembly elected in August, 1850 had 160 members. Of these, sixty-four were Whigs, fifty-five were Benton Democrats, and thirty-eight were anti-Benton Democrats.¹⁴

The Defeat of Senator Benton. The contest between the Benton and anti-Benton factions had been so bitter that there was no hope of Benton's receiving any votes from the anti-Benton members of the legislature. To be elected he must have eighty votes. He had only fifty-five loyal supporters in the General Assembly. Benton's only hope lay in obtaining support from the Whigs. The Whigs agreed with Benton on the issues in the contest, but they had been in opposition to Benton on all other issues since the organization of their party twenty years before, and during all this time had been a minority party in Missouri. They now had a plurality and they were not ready to give up that advantage by helping re-elect Benton. The legislature met in joint session on January 10, 1851 to elect a United States senator. Henry S. Geyer was the Whig, and B. F. Stringfellow the anti-Benton candidate. The first ballot stood: Geyer, sixty-

¹⁴One member had died and two were absent on the first ballot.

four; Benton, fifty-five; and Stringfellow, thirty-eight. After ten days' caucusing and balloting, enough anti-Benton Democrats, led by R. M. Stewart, voted with the Whigs to elect Geyer. On the fortieth ballot the final vote stood: Geyer, eighty; Benton, fifty-five; Stringfellow, eighteen; and five scattering. Benton's career as United States senator ended March 4, 1851.

The Election of 1852. The contest between the Benton and the anti-Benton Democrats did not end with the defeat of Benton in 1851. In the election of 1852 the Jackson Resolutions were made the issue of the campaign. Sterling Price,¹⁵ a Mexican War hero, had managed to remain so nearly neutral in the Benton and anti-Benton contest that

¹⁵ Sterling Price was born in Virginia in 1809 and died in St. Louis in 1867. He came to Missouri in 1831. He lived two years at Fayette, Howard County, then for two more years he was a merchant at Keytesville, Chariton County. In 1835 he moved to a farm in Chariton County where he lived, except when serving the public in some official capacity, until the beginning of the War in 1861. He was a member of the State legislature from 1840 to 1844, during which time he was speaker of the House. In 1844 he was elected to Congress, but resigned to raise a regiment for service in the Mexican War. He was the one man in the State who could obtain the support of both the Benton and anti-Benton factions in the Democratic Party. After his term as governor he lived on his farm until 1861, when he was appointed by Governor Jackson to the command of the State troops. Price was elected as a Union man to the constituent convention in 1861, but when compelled to make a final choice between the Union and the Confederacy he entered the services of the Confederacy. He proved himself to be a very capable military man during the Civil War. Sterling Price was one of the best liked public men Missouri had. His political opponents were his personal friends. Bitter opposing political factions could agree upon him because they liked him personally. During the war he was affectionately known by his men as "Pap" Price, and he was respected and even liked personally by many of the men in the Union Army. After the war he engaged in the mercantile business in St. Louis.

both factions were willing to accept him as a candidate for governor. Price was elected by a majority of 14,000 over James Winston, the Whig candidate. Benton ran for Congress in the St. Louis District and was elected. In the election of 1852 the real contest between the Benton and anti-Benton factions was fought out in the election of members of the legislature. The Benton Democrats secured forty-four members, the Whigs thirty-nine, the anti-Benton Democrats thirty-seven and six were uncertain. Governor King called an extra session of the legislature for August 30 to take up the matter of railroads. But the struggle among the three factions began immediately over the election of a speaker.¹⁶ Finally Shelby, a Benton man, was elected speaker for the extra session only.

Election of 1854. In the State election of 1854 the third state-wide campaign was fought on the Jackson Resolutions. The legislature was almost equally divided among the Whigs, the Benton Democrats, and the anti-Benton Democrats. The legislature elected in August, 1854 was to choose a successor to Senator Atchison. The candidates were David R. Atchison, anti-Benton-Democrat, Benton, and Colonel Doniphan, Whig. The balloting usually gave Atchison fifty-six, Benton forty, and Doniphan sixty. The anti-Benton-Democrats withdrew Atchison and substituted Governor Price, but the balloting showed the same result. Finally the legislature gave up trying to elect a United States senator, and Missouri had only one senator from 1855-1857.

¹⁶ During the contest one of the members introduced the following resolution which the Speaker declared out of order: "Resolved, that a veil be hung over the portrait of Colonel Benton, now hanging in the Representative Hall; that Claib Jackson be requested to absent himself from the House, and that the members drink no more grog till a speaker is elected."

Benton was defeated for re-election to Congress in the St. Louis district in the November election 1854.

The Election of 1856. The issues in Missouri in the campaign of 1856 were practically the same as they had been in the three preceding elections. Benton ran for governor and the Jackson Resolutions were for the fourth time made the chief issue before the people.¹⁷ Benton canvassed the State again, assailing the Jackson Resolutions and declaring they meant disunion. At the same time he vigorously opposed the new Republican Party, although his own son-in-law, John C. Fremont, was its candidate for President. For the first time the anti-Benton-Democrats polled more votes than the Benton-Democrats and Benton finished third in the race. This was his last campaign. He died in Washington in 1858.¹⁸

¹⁷ The Kansas-Nebraska Bill had been passed in 1854. It contained a clause definitely repealing the Missouri Compromise. Benton had violently opposed the bill in the House of Representatives. The opposition to the bill had organized the Republican Party. But Benton would have nothing to do with the new party. He objected to it on the same grounds that he urged against the Jackson Resolutions; that it was dangerous to the Union. His policy was to keep slavery agitation out of the State. After the election of 1856 Blair and B. Gratz Brown, Benton-Democrats, joined the Republican party. Benton wrote to a friend in St. Louis as follows: "My friends told me that these persons would turn out for abolition in the state as soon as the election was over, but I would not believe them. For persons calling themselves my friends to attack the whole policy of my life, which was to keep slavery agitation out of the state, and get my support in the canvass by keeping me ignorant of what they intended to do, is the greatest outrage I have ever experienced."

¹⁸ Three days before Benton's death he sent for President Buchanan to exhort him to preserve the Union. Taking the hand of Buchanan he said, "Buchanan, we are friends, we have differed on many points, as you well know, but I have always trusted your integrity of purpose. I supported you in preference to Fremont, because he headed a sectional party,

The anti-Benton-Democratic candidate for governor, Trusten Polk,¹⁹ was elected. Ten days after his inauguration as governor, Polk was elected to the United States Senate and resigned the office of governor. Hancock Jackson, the Lieutenant-Governor, served as governor until a special election in August, 1857 when Robert M. Stewart²⁰ was

whose success would have been the signal for disunion. I have faith in you now, but you must look to a Higher Power to support and guide you." After Benton grew so weak he could scarcely make himself understood, his life-long friend, Frank P. Blair, Sr. arrived from Tennessee. After the greetings were over Benton uttered Clay's name and by signs made Blair understand that he wanted the last of his, Benton's, manuscript of "The Debates in Congress" which he had finished a few days before. Having obtained the manuscript he pointed to Henry Clay's last appeal for the Union made in the debate on the Omnibus Bill a short time before his death. Thus Benton on his death bed adopted his life-long rival's last appeal as his own and made it speak when he could no longer utter a word.

¹⁹ Trusten Polk was born in Maryland in 1811. He was a direct descendant of Robert and Magdelene Polk from whom President James K. Polk was also descended. He came to St. Louis in 1843; was elected governor in 1856, but resigned to accept the office of United States senator. He was expelled from the Senate in 1861 on the charge of disloyalty. He served as a colonel in the Confederate army. After the war, he practiced law in St. Louis until his death in 1876.

²⁰ Robert M. Stewart was born in New York in 1815. He moved to Kentucky when twenty-two years of age, and two years later went from Louisville to St. Joseph, Missouri. He was elected to the Constitutional Convention of 1845; served in the State legislature and was elected governor in 1857. He always acted with the pro-slavery wing of the party, but took a strong position for the Union in his farewell message to the legislature. He was a member of the convention of 1861. Many stories are told of Governor Stewart. One is as follows: When he was a young man coming to Missouri on a steamboat the mate kicked him down the gang-plank into the Mississippi River. The boat went on, the mate supposing Stewart had been drowned. Later when Stewart was governor he found in the penitentiary the man who had kicked him into the river. He wrote out a pardon, took it to the prison and had the mate sent to him at a

elected to fill the unexpired term. The slavery issue, which had been the center about which the State campaigns in Missouri had been fought since 1849, in 1856 became the central issue of the nation wide presidential campaign for the first time. In 1858 the center of interest moved from the Benton campaigns in Missouri to the Lincoln-Douglas campaign in Illinois.

The Election of 1860. The campaign of 1860 was one of the longest and most exciting in the history of the State. On Jackson Day, January 8, 1860, C. F. Jackson announced his candidacy for governor. On April 9 a state convention was held to nominate a state ticket and select delegates to the national convention at Charleston. Jackson was nominated for governor, and soon after started for the Ozark Hills where he spent most of his time in the campaign. A

place near the prison wall where there was an incline much like the gangplank of a steamboat. When the prisoner approached, the governor introduced himself handed the prisoner the pardon and proceeded to kick him down the incline.

According to another story Governor Stewart visited the prison one day and inquired of every prisoner he met for what offense he was in prison. He always asked the prisoner whether he was guilty or innocent. The reply was the same in every case—"innocent." As the governor was leaving the grounds, he saw some prisoners digging a cistern. He asked the usual questions and all were innocent. Seeing a man in the cistern filling a tub he called out: "You fellow down there! What are you doing with stripes on your clothes? Are you guilty or innocent?" The prisoner replied, "Well Governor, to tell the truth, I am guilty; I did break into a store in St. Louis and steal two suits of clothes and they proved it on me." Whereupon the governor said: "Get into that tub, you rascal; pull him up. Now come with me to the Mansion, for I will pardon you and send you home, for no such rascal as you shall stay here and corrupt the morals of the innocent convicts in this penitentiary." Governor Stewart never married. He died in 1871.

man named Sample Orr²¹ was his chief opponent. The Democratic party split into Douglas and Breckenridge Democrats. Jackson avoided taking sides as long as he could, but when compelled to do so, he said that he was running on the Douglas ticket. The Breckenridge men promptly put up Hancock Jackson for governor. The Republicans nominated Gardenshire. C. F. Jackson²² was elected.

The Presidential Election in 1860 in Missouri. Slavery had first become a national question at the time of Missouri's application for statehood in 1820. In 1849 the southern

²¹ William Hyde, editor of "The Republican," writes of Orr as follows: "Claib Jackson finally emerged from the hickory-nut country, but was loath to come out of his own shell. A man named Sample Orr, of whom nobody ever heard before, had, immediately after the Baltimore Split, saddled a horse somewhere down in the Southwest, put some light clothes into a pair of saddle-bags, announced himself as a Constitutional-Union candidate for governor, and started out on the flank of the Democratic candidate. Of course every body laughed at his temerity and when they saw him they laughed all the more. Nobody knew of any backers he had, of any antecedents, any records. He was nobody's nominee; just plain Sample Orr, farmer. Very plain he was. He was a freckled, strawberry blond, and there never was any thing redder than his hair. A man of medium height, slight build, weight about 145; keen blue eyes, white eye-lashes, nervous, short step, stooping shoulders, long neck—another Ichabod Crane. Where he concealed his voice was a wonder, for he could be heard a good distance and his speech was charming."

²² Claiborne F. Jackson was born in Kentucky in 1807. He moved to Howard County, Missouri when he was eighteen years of age. He became a merchant, was successful in business and retired to give his time to politics before he was thirty-five. He was several times representative from Howard County, speaker of the House and state senator. He was a member of the noted "Fayette Clique" and became its leader when it turned against Benton. He was elected governor on the Douglas ticket in 1860, but attempted to take the State out of the Union. He failed in this. He died at Little Rock, Arkansas in 1862.

view of the question was injected into State politics by the Jackson Resolution. In 1856 the northern position was urged in the State by the Republicans. Benton had opposed both these positions as dangerous to the Union. In 1860 there were four candidates for the presidency: Breckenridge, representing the southern position, Lincoln, representing the northern position, Douglas and Bell representing the moderate position on the slavery question. The election of 1860 showed that when the issue became strong enough to overshadow personal likes and dislikes, as it did in that year, the people of Missouri were strongly against slavery agitation. Douglas received 58,801 votes and Bell 58,372 making a total of 117,173 men who voted for a "middle-of-the-road" position. Only 31,317 voted for Breckenridge, and 17,028 for Lincoln.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER II

1. What change in politics is noticeable about the beginning of the period?
2. What was the leading issue between 1836 and 1844? What was Benton's position?
3. Who was elected governor in 1840?
4. What was the "Central Clique?" "The Fayette Clique?"
5. What caused the first split in the Democratic party in Missouri?
6. Who were the candidates for governor in 1844? What was the main issue in the campaign?
7. What was Benton's majority in 1844?
8. What was the position of the Missouri legislature on slavery extension in 1847?
9. Who were the candidates for governor in 1848? What was the Democratic majority?
10. What new issue was raised in 1849? How was it brought before the people?
11. What did Benton say about the Jackson Resolutions?
12. Name three men who were "Softs" in 1844 and against Benton on the Jackson Resolutions in 1849.

13. What caused the nation-wide interest in the campaign in Missouri in 1849?
14. What was the attitude of the Whigs on the Jackson Resolutions?
15. What was the relative strength of the three parties in the legislature of 1850?
16. Who was elected to succeed Benton in the United States senate?
17. What was the relative strength of the three parties in the legislature of 1852? Who was elected governor?
18. What was the issue in the election of 1854?
19. Why did Missouri have only one United States senator from 1855 to 1857?
20. What was the campaign issue in Missouri in 1856? What were the results?
21. Who was elected governor in 1856? How long did he serve?
22. Who was elected governor at the special election in 1857?
23. Who were the candidates for governor in 1860?
24. What does the election of 1860 show as to the position of the people of Missouri on the slavery question?

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC PROGRESS 1836-1870

Steamboats and River Trade. By 1836 the steamboat had come to be recognized as the chief means of transportation. There were still many keel-boats, flat-boats and rafts used, but the steamboat was rapidly taking the place of the other types of boats.

St. Louis¹ was just entering upon a period of rapid growth which was related very closely to the development of the steamboat traffic on the western rivers. The panic of 1837 caused a general prostration of business and commerce in St. Louis. It was attended with the ruin of thousands of people. By 1839 business had revived, and the steamboat arrivals at St. Louis during the year numbered 2,095. In 1848 the steamboat arrivals numbered 3,468. This was a great increase. Since 1839, St. Louis had become a boat

¹ "The Republican" of June 4, 1836 describes the commercial condition of St. Louis at that time as follows: "At no prior time has this city exhibited so many signs of improvement as are now daily seen. Capital is finding its way to us and large investments are made in real estate, not with a view to speculation, but with the design of improving it. We have made some inquiry and have found that upwards of two hundred houses are building in the city, and it is probable that another hundred will be put up during the season. Our country friends who are engaged in the mercantile business have in many instances determined to make their purchases hereafter in St. Louis, as the competition and increase in business has satisfied them that they can do so to better advantage than in the Atlantic cities. Useful and extensive manufactories are starting up, and in a short time we shall be independent of other places for our steam engines and other materials of daily use."

building center. In 1846, ten steamboats having a combined tonnage of 2,912 tons were built in the city. St. Louis grew rapidly as a port. In 1854 she stood third in the whole United States in steamboat tonnage. New York stood first and New Orleans, second.

Steamship transportation steadily increased until it was interrupted by the Civil War in 1861 to 1865. Steamboat arrivals in 1860 numbered 5,178. When the South withdrew from the Union, the lower Mississippi River was closed to steamboats from the North. Trade through New Orleans was stopped, and commerce began to find its way east by railroads and lakes to New York. The increased traffic made necessary by the war was carried more and more by railroads. Low water in the upper rivers frequently caused much loss from steamboat accidents.² Sand bars, snags and floods caused many disasters.³ The removal of snags, sunken boats and other obstructions to river traffic was often discussed, but no action was taken. Public opinion seemed to have concluded that snags and river obstructions

² In 1860, 299 steamboats were destroyed with the loss of 254 lives. May 17, 1849 twenty-three vessels were burned at the wharf at St. Louis. Steamboat disasters were frequently caused by the explosion of the boiler. The following quotation is typical of what frequently appeared in the papers: "When the 'George Collier,' while on her way, May 6, 1839, from New Orleans to St. Louis, was about eighty miles below Natches, her piston rod gave way. The cylinder head was broken, and the boiler stand carried away. The steam escaping scalded forty-five persons, of whom twenty-six died that day."

³ On Friday, April 9, 1852 an appalling disaster occurred at Lexington Landing, to the steamer "Slauda," laden with Mormon immigrants destined for Utah. The river was swollen from spring rains, and the current thickly studded with floating ice. For two or three days the steamer had fruitlessly attempted to stem the flood and round the point at Lexington. About nine o'clock in the morning, the captain of the "Slauda," Francis T. Bell, impatient of delay, ordered an extra pressure of

would have to be removed, but after the Civil War the railroads had become well developed. Trade was diverted from the rivers to the railroads. This threatened injury and loss to a large amount of capital already invested in steamboats and barges. It also threatened to deprive of employment a large number of laborers engaged in river transportation. A convention was held in St. Louis in February, 1867 to find a way to save the river traffic. Congress was appealed to and responded with an appropriation for the removal of snags and sand bars. While Congress has made small appropriations for improvements of rivers and harbors since 1867, the steamboat has not been able to compete with the railroad. By 1870 the railroad had become the chief means of transportation. The river traffic for a long time supplemented the railroads. But the end of our period marks the triumph of the railroad over the steamboat.⁴

steam for a final effort. The furnaces were filled with glowing inflammables. The guards crowded with passengers eagerly watched the result. The signal was given for starting the engine; when at the second revolution of the wheels, both boilers exploded at the same time, with fearful effect, tearing away all the boards forward of the wheels, causing her to sink immediately. Captain Belt and Jonathan F. Blackburn, the second clerk, were standing between the chimneys on the hurricane roof, and were blown over the warehouses on the shore and half way up the bluff. Both men were killed outright. The iron safe weighing 500 or 600 pounds and with a dog chained to it, was blown from the office over the warehouse and fell near the body of Captain Belt. It was never known how many lives were lost by the explosion but eighty-three persons were buried from the wreck at Lexington."—"Switzler's History."

⁴ Scharf in his history of St. Louis says: "The system of railroads which in 1870 had spread out from St. Louis in every direction had the effect of contracting the limits of freighting by water. When not only freight but passengers were carried by water, the steamboats of the Mississippi found a remunerative trade. But the time had arrived when the steam-

Railroads. The year 1836 marks the first effort to secure the building of railroads in the State. The first railroad convention held in Missouri met in St. Louis, April 30, 1836. Two railroads were recommended. One from St. Louis to Fayette, in Howard County, and the other from St. Louis to the mineral district in Washington County. Congress was asked to grant 500,000 acres of land to aid in construction of the roads, and it was proposed that the State legislature guarantee the bonds of the companies which undertook the task of building them. Soon other communities wanted railroads built. Governor Boggs in his message to the legislature advocated a general system of railroad building. During January and February, 1837 eighteen railroad companies were incorporated.⁵ However, the legislature was not willing to place the credit of the State at the disposal of these railroad companies⁶ and it was impossible to secure

boat had become too slow a means of transportation for an enterprising and progressive people. The passenger travel having deserted the steamboats, they were compelled to look to their freight list almost entirely for their profit."

⁵ All of the roads planned by these companies were short roads. The longest one was to be 120 miles, but the most of them were from five to twenty-five miles in length. They were planned to supplement the river transportation and usually connected a county seat town with a river landing. None of the proposed roads were ever built by the companies organized in 1837.

⁶ John F. Darby, who represented St. Louis in the State senate in 1837, blamed Senator Benton for the refusal of the legislature to grant financial aid to these companies. In his "Personal Recollections" he says: "Col. Benton, for more than ten years after the first agitation on the subject of railroads in Missouri, opposed them. As a member of the legislature of Missouri, in 1838-9, I introduced bills for the construction of railroads. They were voted down by the Democratic party, of which Colonel Benton was the acknowledged head."

If Darby is correct in placing the responsibility for the defeat of these plans upon Benton, the State owes Benton a debt of gratitude for

sufficient private capital to build the roads. The panic of 1837 put an end to the agitation for railroads, and it was several years before it was renewed. In the meantime railroads had proved to be a great success in the country east of the Mississippi. After the Mexican War the territory of the United States extended to the Pacific Ocean. Eastern statesmen began discussing plans for building a railroad to the Pacific. Senator Benton and the leading citizens of St. Louis saw an opportunity to make St. Louis the eastern terminus of such a national railroad. A national railroad convention was held in St. Louis in the fall of 1849. Delegates from twelve states were present. Congress was petitioned for aid. A company was organized and incorporated by the State legislature. Governor King proposed that the State aid in the construction of the road. A law was passed in 1851 granting State aid to the "Pacific" and to "the Hannibal" and "St. Joseph Railroad" companies. Construction work on "The Pacific" was begun in St. Louis in 1851. This was the first railroad in Missouri and the first one west of the Mississippi.⁷ Once a beginning had been made in lending the credit of the State to railroad compa-

saving it from the humiliating experiences of other western states which attempted railroad building in the thirties.

The Illinois legislature obligated that state for more than \$30,000,000 to build railroads at this time, and the state failed to secure a single mile of completed railroad. Illinois paid the debt; Louisiana had a similar experience and repudiated her debt.

⁷ There were two short lines of so-called railroads earlier than the Pacific. One was a road from Independence to the landing on the Missouri River, a distance of four miles. It is said to have been in operation as early as 1848. The other was a road five miles in length from Richmond to the Missouri River. It was in operation as early as 1849. Both of these roads were built entirely of wood. They had wooden rails, and used horse power.

nies, there were many calls. During 1851 and 1852 the grants of credit amounted to \$8,250,000. From 1850 to 1860 the State authorized bonds to the amount of \$24,950,000 to aid in railroad construction, but only \$23,701,000 were issued. Notwithstanding the aid granted by the State legislature, the actual construction was very slow. By 1855 the Pacific had been completed to Jefferson City.⁸ In 1860 there had been 715 miles of railroad built in the State. But one railroad, the "Hannibal and St. Joseph," had been completed. "The St. Louis and Iron Mountain" had been built as far as Pilot Knob. "The Pacific," now the "Missouri Pacific" was completed as far as Syracuse, 168 miles from St. Louis. The "North Missouri,"⁹ now the "Wabash," was running trains as far as Macon. The construction of railroads was slow and more expensive than had been expected. Many people did not believe the railroad would become

⁸ On November 1, 1855 the road was formally opened. To celebrate the event an excursion was run from St. Louis to Jefferson City. The train consisted of ten passenger coaches, all crowded with guests of the company who had been invited to make the trip. About twelve o'clock the train arrived at the bridge over the Gasconade River. The bridge had not been finished, but the contractors had agreed to build the scaffolding strong enough to permit the train to pass over. When the train had got on the bridge one of the spans gave way. The engine and several cars fell into the river thirty feet below. A number of the leading citizens of St. Louis were killed.

⁹ The original plan was to build the "North Missouri" through Fulton, Columbia, and Fayette. For some reason the plan was changed, and the road was built farther to the north. It is said that the citizens of Columbia protested against the road coming through their city. The opposition to the road was carried to the extent of holding public meetings and raising a bonus to pay to the company on the condition that the road was not to be built through Columbia. The reason given for opposing the road was that a railroad through the city would make it easy for slaves to escape.

practical for long distance transportation.¹⁰ It was not until after the Civil War that it was possible to build a railroad to the Pacific.

¹⁰ In 1854 a group of people met at the Farmer's Hotel in Kansas City to discuss one of the strangest business propositions of that period. Colonel Benton, Fremont and a Dr. Lykins were members of the group. Mrs. Lykins, who later became the wife of General George Bingham, the Missouri artist, gave the following account of the meeting: "Benton and Fremont had arrived in order to complete arrangements for an experiment with camels as beasts of burden in crossing the plains during the hot season. Col. Benton entered heartily into the plan and gave his assistance in every way possible. He thought camels would stand the travel over the sandy plains better than oxen or horses. Owing to the shortness of the season in this northern latitude the project failed, although the camels were imported for the purpose.

"Late in the afternoon Dr. Lykins returned to the house to inform me that he had invited the gentlemen to dine with us the following day. Col. Benton and Mr. Fremont came, also Lieut. Head, and the day was one long to be remembered. The conversation was mainly upon the great possibilities of the West. At the conclusion of the dinner we stepped out on the porch which commanded a delightful view of the river and the surrounding country. Colonel Benton appeared in the height of good spirits and turning to me said: 'Mrs. Lykins, you will take a trip to California on one of the camels, won't you?' 'Hardly,' I replied laughing, 'I would prefer a more comfortable mode of travel.' The great statesman's face grew solemn and as if in a spirit of prophecy, he said, 'You are a very young woman, and you will live to see the day when the railroad will cross the plains and mountains to the Pacific coast.' 'Col. Benton,' I replied, 'With all due deference to you as a prophet, your prediction is as visionary as a trip to the moon.' 'I will not live to see the prophecy verified, but the next generation will,' he responded firmly. That was the last visit of Colonel Benton to Kansas City. The party left by steamboat for St. Louis the evening of the same day."

"The Statesman" of June 21, 1878 contains the following item which when considered in connection with the account which Mrs. Lykins gives of her conversation with Col. Benton, is very interesting. "The marriage of General George C. Bingham and Mrs. Mattie Lykins was solemnized on Tuesday morning at eight o'clock. After a sumptuous breakfast General Bingham and his wife were driven to the depot, and took the cars for Denver, to spend a few weeks among the magnificent scenery of Colorado."

During the Civil War all the railroads of the State, except the Hannibal and St. Joseph, failed to pay the interest upon the bonds which the State had issued to aid in their construction. The State foreclosed its mortgages and took possession of the roads. On January 1, 1868 the railroads owed the State a total of \$31,735,840.

This amount included the interest which had not been paid. After operating the roads for a short time the State sold them for \$6,131,496. This amount subtracted from the total indebtedness leaves \$24,609,344, the amount which the State lost by aiding in building railroads.

After the State took the roads, it ran them without loss. But Governor Fletcher recommended the sale of the roads to private companies so they might be completed. One of the terms of the sale was that the company purchasing a road must complete the road within a given time.

The State was not asked for further aid, but counties, townships, and cities were asked to aid with their bonds. The desire for railroads was so great that many municipal bonds were issued.

Some of the companies built the proposed roads for which aid had been granted, but many of the companies were fraudulent, and as soon as they were able to sell the bonds, construction was stopped and the railroads were never built. Many of the counties refused to pay these bonds obtained under false pretense, but the federal courts decided in favor of the bond holders. Still some counties refused to pay. But after a time all of the counties arranged to pay these bonds.¹¹ By 1870 Missouri had become well supplied with railroads,

¹¹ St. Clair and Dallas counties refused to pay either interest or principal for years. But recently the bond holders have offered liberal compromises which have been accepted in both counties.

Kansas City and St. Louis were both becoming noted as railway terminals, and Missouri was well connected with roads of other states.

Money and Banking. The first constitution of Missouri provided that the General Assembly might incorporate one bank and no more, and that this bank might have five branches and no more. But the General Assembly had not seen fit to exercise the powers granted to it by the constitution, and no bank had been incorporated before 1836 the beginning of our period.

A branch of the Bank of the United States had been established at St. Louis in 1829, but it was compelled to go out of business when President Jackson refused to sign the bill renewing the charter of the parent bank which expired in 1836. The city of St. Louis was just beginning a period of rapid growth that made it the chief center of trade in the Mississippi valley. The general increase in population and business throughout the State made evident the need for a better currency.¹²

¹² The State at this time was flooded with paper money of various kinds, much of it was the notes of banks of other states and territories. The notes became worthless if the bank which issued them failed. There were many bank failures in those days and people never knew how long the money they received would be good. Another kind of money in circulation was called "Shinplaster." Shinplaster was the notes of a public corporation like a city or a county. Many cities and counties of the State issued paper money to pay their debts. The notes were usually issued in denominations of one, two and three dollars. They were issued in such quantities that there was no hope of their redemption. Therefore, they depreciated rapidly.

There was little coin in circulation, although considerable coin was obtained in the Sante Fe trade and the fur trade. Men who had coin did not care to exchange it for the cheap "wild cat" money from the banks of other states or the "shinplaster" of our own towns and counties.

Business men began, in 1836, to demand that the legislature charter a bank. The next year the legislature passed an act creating a state bank. The charter of this bank provided that the bank must not issue paper money of a lower denomination than ten dollars. It also provided that the bank should not suspend specie payment.¹³ If it did, the very act of suspending specie payment was to nullify the charter and the bank would be compelled to cease doing business. The Missouri legislators intended to create a bank that would not issue more paper money than it could redeem, thereby causing a loss to the people who held its notes. In this they were successful. The Bank of Missouri, which was created in 1837, was given a charter good for twenty years. The Bank was under the control of the State government. It had a president and twelve directors, and the president and six of the directors were elected every two years by the State legislature. The governor was given special power to investigate the condition of the Bank, any time he thought best to do so. He was required to appoint a committee of the legislature every two years to investigate the condition of the Bank and report to the legislature.

¹³ To suspend specie payment meant to quit paying out coin (gold and silver money) for paper money. Paper money is simply a note of a bank or some public corporation promising to pay coin to the holder upon demand. The note bears no interest and is usually printed on some special colored paper which makes it difficult to counterfeit. If a bank issues more of these notes than it can possibly redeem (that is pay coin for when it is demanded) it would be compelled to suspend specie payment, if people became uneasy and wanted gold or silver for their bank notes. In most states banks were allowed to suspend specie payment, and go right on doing a banking business. If a bank did that, its notes depreciated, that is a dollar became worth less than a dollar. The amount of this depreciation depended upon the confidence of the people in the ability of the bank to resume specie payment. If it became known that the bank would never be able to resume specie payment, its notes became worthless.

Some men¹⁴ were very much dissatisfied because of the restrictions which the legislature placed upon the Bank. However, the wisdom of the legislators who wrote the charter was proved by the career of the Bank. The notes of the Bank of Missouri were everywhere considered as good as gold. The confidence in the soundness of the Bank and the excellent currency which it furnished were important factors in the wonderful business development of the State and especially of St. Louis during the twenty years of its existence.

The business of the State became so great that it was impossible for the Bank of Missouri and its branches to furnish banking facilities for the people. In 1847 Boatman's Saving Institution was established in St. Louis. Soon other private banks were established in various places in the State. While these banks were very useful in receiving deposits and making loans, they could not issue paper money.

The great amount of business in the State required more money than the Bank of Missouri was allowed to issue.¹⁵ This condition caused much of the "wildcat" currency from other states to circulate in Missouri, causing the people to suffer the losses that are always incurred by the use of such money.

The need of the people of the State for more good money and the success of the Bank of Missouri caused the people

¹⁴ Probably most of these men had hoped to obtain some of the quick profits that were frequently made in the banking business in states where "wildcat" banking was permitted.

¹⁵ In 1852 the assets of the Bank of Missouri and its branches were about \$4,000,000 and the outstanding circulation of its bank notes was nearly \$1,500,000.

to amend the constitution in 1857. By an amendment, the legislature was permitted to charter ten parent banks, but it was provided that their capital should not exceed \$20,000,000, and the total amount of money issued could not be more than double the capital stock.

In 1875 the Bank of Missouri received a new charter. The legislature acting under authority of the new constitutional amendment chartered seven more State banks in place of the Bank of Missouri. The notes of these banks furnished the people with money until the National Bank Law of 1864 drove the notes of all state banks out of circulation and provided for national banks whose notes took the place of the notes of state banks. These state banks then became national banks.

Missouri was the only state in the Union which held to the principles of a sound currency in chartering state banking institutions. The people of the State were spared the loss of the "wildcat" banking period, except such loss as came from the use of the money of the banks of other states. Much of the credit for the wise banking laws which gave Missouri a sound currency must be given to her great statesman, Thomas H. Benton.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL PROGRESS 1836-1870

The Platte Purchase. The year 1836 marks the rounding out of Missouri by the addition of the territory between the meridian passing through the mouth of the Kansas River (which had been up to that time the western boundary of the State) and the Missouri River. This section of territory, known as the Platte Purchase, is one of the richest for its size in the world. After the pioneers pushed up the Missouri River to the western boundary of the State, they began to settle back from the river to the north along the boundary. Clay County had been organized in 1822 and Clinton County in 1833. These land hungry pioneers naturally coveted the rich lands just across the border.

General Andrew Hughes speaking to a crowd at Liberty on Muster Day proposed the annexation of the Platte Country. Committees were appointed to bring the matter to the attention of the State legislature and the Missouri members of Congress. Two obstacles presented themselves; first, the Indian ownership of the Platte Territory had been definitely recognized by treaty a few years before. Second, the Missouri Compromise forever prohibited slavery in this territory. To add it to Missouri would make it slave territory. The first difficulty was removed when Captain William Clark purchased the tract from the Indians, September 17, 1836. He gave the Indians \$7,500 and four hundred sections of land in northwestern Kansas. The second

objection never received consideration in Congress. The law annexing the Platte Purchase to Missouri passed Congress in December, 1836. The census of 1840 showed that more than 15,000 people lived in the territory and by 1870, the end of our period, the population numbered 102,442.

The Mormons Driven from the State. One of the most interesting and exciting contests of our early history occurred soon after the opening of our period when a religious sect known as Mormons was compelled to leave the State. This church was founded in New York by Joseph Smith about 1830. In 1831 Smith and a number of his followers came to Independence, Missouri and on August second and third held two ceremonies. In the first the foundation of the city of Zion was laid, and in the other the cornerstone of the temple was laid. These ceremonies were merely symbolic and prophetic of what was to take place in the future. Elaborate plans for a city were drawn up. The "Saints" soon began to arrive in great numbers. They purchased all the land they could in and around the city. Within two years they formed a third of the population of Jackson County. A peculiar scheme of communism under a plan known as the stewardship plan was established. A newspaper called "The Evening Star" was started. The rapid increase of the Mormon population, together with their peculiar religious and social beliefs and practices, soon stirred the pioneer inhabitants to active measures of opposition. A mob gathered, threw the printing press into the river, and gave the Mormons a limited time in which to leave. The Mormons moved across the river into Clay County. There they were treated kindly by the people.¹ For three

¹ The trouble had come to open warfare on the night of October 3, 1833 when a mob attacked a Mormon settlement on Big Blue about ten miles

years the Mormons lived in Clay County. Their numbers continued to increase rapidly by immigration. The citizens of the county began to realize that the Mormons would soon be in a majority. Soon bitter feeling began to develop. A public meeting was held in June 1, 1836 at the court house at Liberty. Resolutions demanding the removal of the Mormons were adopted.² The Mormons decided to leave Clay County and found a county of their own. They petitioned the legislature to cut off the northern part of Ray County and organize it into a new county. The legislature did this in December, 1836. The new county was called Caldwell. The Mormons moved in the winter of 1836 and 1837 to Caldwell County where they founded a city which they named Far West. Within two years Far

west of Independence and destroyed twelve houses, whipped the men and drove the women and children into the open country in the middle of the night. The next night mobs attacked both private houses and churches in Independence. On November 2 another attack was made on the Big Blue settlement. On November 4, attacks were made on several Mormon settlements in the county. The Mormons realized that they could not continue to live in Jackson County and agreed to move across the river into Clay County. On November 6 and 7 the ferries were busy all day ferrying them across the river. Most of the refugees had been compelled to leave their homes so hurriedly that they could take little or nothing with them. One writer describes the scene as follows: "Hundreds of people were to be seen in every direction; some in the open air, around their fires, while the rain descended in torrents. Husbands were inquiring for their wives and women for their husbands, parents for children and children for parents. Some had the good fortune to escape with their family, household goods, and some provisions; while others knew not the fate of their friends and had lost all their goods. The scene was indescribable." By the close of the year not a Mormon was left in Jackson County.

²The reasons given for demanding that the Mormons leave were: That the Mormons had declared the land belonged to them and the Indians. Second, that the Mormons were opposed to slavery; and third, their peculiar religious tenets.

West had a population of 3,000. Joseph Smith moved his headquarters from Ohio to the new city. He soon ordered the establishment of "stakes," as the Mormon churches were called, in the adjoining counties. Soon the Mormons were in conflict with the inhabitants of these counties.³ There were now about 15,000 Mormons in the State. Governor Boggs ordered General Clark to raise a force for the protection of the citizens of Davies County. Soon after, the governor issued his exterminating order in which he said, "The Mormons must be exterminated or driven from the State, if necessary for the public peace." The military forces of the State moved against the Mormons in such numbers as to make resistance impossible. In a conference with the commanders of the militia the Mormons agreed to surrender their leaders for trial and leave the State. Under this agreement Joseph Smith and about fifty of his followers were arrested and taken to Richmond for trial. Some of them were acquitted. The remainder took a change of venue and were sent to Columbia, Missouri for trial, but on the road to Columbia several of the prisoners, including Joseph Smith, managed to escape. The others were acquitted. While these trials were going on, the main body of Mormons moved from the State to Illinois.

After the Civil War the Mormons began to return to Independence, Missouri. There are now (1920) three sects with stakes established there. The Reorganized Church

³ Armed bands of both Mormons and Gentiles rode over the country burning houses in both town and country. The Mormons attacked Gallatin one night and burned several houses. Another band of Mormons defeated a company of State militia on Crooked River, October 23, 1838. The Missourians then took revenge by attacking the Mormons at Hawn's Mill, October 30.

of the Latter Day Saints is the most numerous. The Hedrickites,⁴ who are only slightly different from the Latter Day Saints and the Utah Mormons, also have small congregations.

A large part of the population of Independence are members of the Reorganized Church, and many congregations have been established in surrounding towns and counties.

Increase in Population. Although Missouri began to be a colonizing State about the beginning of the period, her population continued to increase even more rapidly than during the previous period. This increase is most readily seen in the figures of the census report.

The census of 1840 showed a population of 383,702, more than double that of 1830. In 1850 the population was 682,043. This was a total increase of 298,341, which was larger than the gain made in any previous ten year period. However, the gain was only 77%. Each previous census had shown a gain of more than 100%. From 1850 to 1860 the gain was 73%, but the gain in number of people was 499,969, a much larger increase than that from 1840 to 1850. This made the total population in 1860 1,182,012. In spite of the losses caused by the Civil War, the census of 1870 showed a little more gain than that of the previous period, but an increase of only 45%. When we consider the increase

⁴ Granville Hedrick came from Illinois to Independence in 1867. He and his followers succeeded in getting possession of the Temple Lot consecrated by Joseph Smith in 1833. They have held it until the present time, although the reorganized Church of Latter Day Saints attempted to secure it through the courts. The differences between the Hedrickites and Latter Day Saints are so few that the leaders are hopeful that full agreement may be reached and the long prophesied Temple be built soon.

for the entire period of thirty years from 1840 to 1870, we have an increase from 383,702 to 1,721,295. This is an increase of 1,337,593 in actual numbers and a percentage increase of 348%.

New Counties. The increase of population caused the organization of new counties so rapidly that ten years after the beginning of the period, the county map of Missouri



MISSOURI COUNTIES IN 1837

Reproduced by permission of the Political Science Department
of the University of Missouri

Growth of Cities. Another indication of the rapid growth in population is found in the growth of cities. In 1836 St. Louis was the largest city in the State and its population was but little more than 8,000. In 1870 it had a population of more than 300,000. Kansas City was named in 1838. A public sale of lots occurred in 1846. It was incorporated in 1853, and in 1870 had a population of 32,260. St. Joseph⁶ had grown from a population of 936 in 1846 to 19,565 in 1870. Springfield, Hannibal and Sedalia⁷ were all flourish-

1844—Dallas.

1845—Atchison, Cedar, De Kalb, Dunklin, Harrison, Hickory, Knox, Lawrence, Mercer, Mississippi, Moniteau, Nodaway, Oregon, Putnam, Reynolds, Schuyler, Sullivan and Texas.

1849—Butler, Laclede, and McDonald.

1851—Bollinger, Dent, Pemiscot, Stone and Vernon.

1855—Barton, Maries and Webster.

1857—Douglas, Howell, Iron and Phelps.

1859—Carter.

1860—Christian.

1861—Worth.

⁶ "In 1861, William A. Davis, who had been in the postal service for more than thirty years, conceived a scheme to distribute the mail bound west of the Missouri River, on the cars between Hannibal and St. Joseph. He placed his scheme and drawings for distributing cars in the hands of Major J. L. Bittinger, then postmaster, who, having examined the plans, forwarded them with his recommendation, to Postmaster General Blair. A special agent was sent to St. Joseph with orders to confer with Mr. Davis, and inaugurate the business of distributing the overland mail on the cars. It proved to be the greatest improvement ever made in postal service. Mail is now distributed in special mail cars all over the country, and the railway postal service has been adopted in many foreign lands."—"The State of Missouri." By Walter Williams.

⁷ General George R. Smith, the founder of Sedalia, had a daughter named Sarah. Her young friends called her "Sed." General Smith decided to name the city after his daughter and called it Sedville. Some one suggested to the general that Sedalia would sound better than Sedville and would honor his daughter just as well. The general agreed and the name was changed from Sedville to Sedalia.

ing cities in 1870. A great many county seat towns were developing into small cities.

In 1859 the first street car railway was built in St. Louis. The first street car, drawn by horses, ran over this line on Olive Street from Fourth to Tenth Street on July 4, 1859.⁸ Before the end of our period no less than eight companies were operating horse street car lines in St. Louis. While the end of our period found the population of Missouri still largely a rural population, commerce, manufacturing, and transportation by railroads were causing the rapid development of cities.

Education. The public school system of Missouri may be said to rest upon the act of the legislature passed in 1835.⁹

⁸ The car was built in Philadelphia and cost \$900. A contemporary account of the first trip says: "At ten o'clock a few invited guests with the directors of the road took their seats within the car. The horses were attached to the pole which can be readily shipped to either end of the car. Mr. E. Wells, President of the road, then took the reins, and after a jerk or two the car moved slowly but steadily up the track, amidst loud shouts and cheers from the crowd. The center of the track was not sufficiently settled, and small pieces of rock were constantly being detached by the horses' feet, and falling upon the track, retarded the progress of the car, in several cases throwing it from the track. The switches required some alteration. Several times the car failed to run on the track intended and a general backing up was found necessary before the car could proceed. But after various delays the car arrived at Tenth Street. The horses were then attached to the other end of the car and the return trip was made with few delays. The pioneer car arrived at Fourth Street, where it was again greeted by a large crowd of persons, each waiting an opportunity for a free ride."

⁹ The act provided for: (a) A State Board of Education consisting of the governor, secretary of state, auditor, treasurer and attorney-general. (b) Schools to continue at least six months in the year. (c) A county school fund. (d) The county as a unit of school taxation. (e) A Board of Trustees for each district who should employ a teacher, appoint visitors

Two years later an act was passed which provided for establishing a State school fund from the sale of Saline lands, and the investment of the fund in Missouri Bank stock. In 1842 sixty cents per pupil was appropriated from the proceeds of this fund to the schools in the thirteen counties that had organized school systems.

In 1839 a law was passed which provided for the office of state superintendent of schools¹⁰ and authorized the establishment of the county and township school funds.¹¹ However, the real work of establishing the schools rested on the local communities. The funds were not sufficient to run the schools without local taxation, and many communities preferred the private subscription school to school taxes. School terms were short, and the school houses and equipment usually very poor. In 1853 the State legislature revised the school laws and, among other changes, provided for a county school commissioner in each county. The schools showed marked improvement as a result of this act, but this progress was checked by the Civil War.¹²

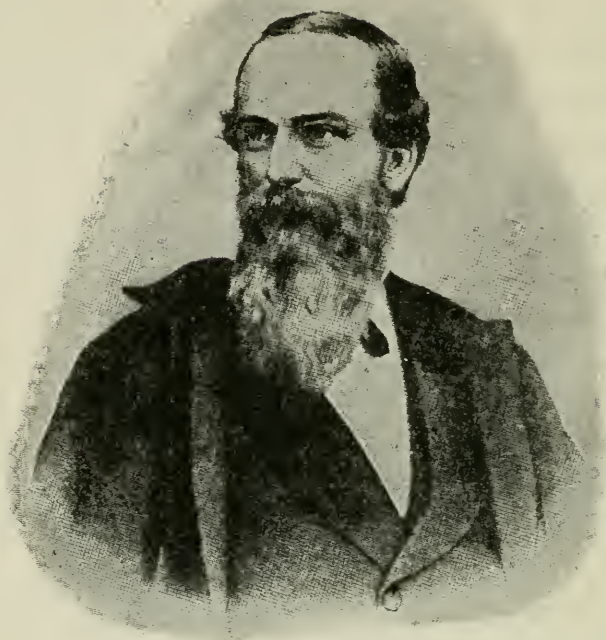
and make all needful arrangements. (f) The teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, English grammar and such other subjects (theology excepted) as the funds might justify.

¹⁰ The office of state superintendent was abolished in 1841 and the duties were placed upon the secretary of state. It was re-established in 1853.

¹¹ These two funds are the important permanent funds of the State. The county funds are derived from fines, forfeitures, the sale of estrays and the sale of swamp lands.

The township funds are derived from the sale of the sixteenth section of land in each township. This section had been set apart for school purposes by the Congress of the United States.

¹² "The Civil War period was a dark one for the public schools. The apportioning of public money was suspended, and nearly all the schools were closed in 1861. School money was used for other purposes and sometimes lost. Many school buildings were destroyed or seriously damaged. The office of state superintendent of schools was suspended and the whole system completely disorganized."—Phillips.



JAMES S. ROLLINS

Father of the University of Missouri
From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State, by
permission of the Missouri Historical
Society

Under the State Constitution which was adopted in 1865 some excellent school legislation was enacted but the effort to build up a new school system failed largely because of the strife resulting from the War

Education—High Schools. There were no public high schools during the period 1836 to 1870. High school education was obtained in private academies. Nine academies had been chartered before 1830. In 1850 there were in the State 204 academies in which there were 8,829 students.¹³

¹³ The State superintendent's report for 1919 shows thirty-two private schools of high school rank. The military academies are included in this list.

Education—University and Colleges. The State University was established at Columbia in accordance with an act of the legislature passed in 1839. It was opened for students in 1840, and its first graduating class, consisting of two men, received degrees in 1843. The University did not receive direct State aid and remained a small school throughout the period. During the first thirty years of its existence its graduates numbered about two hundred. In 1867 the State made the first direct appropriation for the support of the University. It consisted of \$10,000 and a grant of $1\frac{3}{4}\%$ of the State revenues after one-fourth appropriated to the common school fund had been deducted. During the period five other colleges, now members of the College Union, were established.¹⁴

Religion. In 1836 the Roman Catholic church and all the leading Protestant churches had established state-wide organizations in Missouri. During the decade between 1840 and 1850 most of the Protestant churches became divided over the slavery question. These divisions usually resulted in increased membership.

All of the leading churches grew rapidly and by 1871 their membership ranged from 20,000 to more than 100,000. The religious life of the people was seriously interrupted by the ravages of the Civil War period. Many churches were destroyed and others were used for other than religious purposes. Even after the fighting was over many difficulties

¹⁴ These were (1) St. Louis University, which was chartered in 1832. It first offered post graduate courses in Theology in 1834, in medicine in 1836 and in law in 1843. (2) Willam Jewell College was opened January 1, 1850. (3) Westminster College at Fulton was granted a charter in 1853. (4) Washington University at St. Louis was organized in 1854. (5) Central College at Fayette was opened in 1857.

confronted those who attempted to re-establish religious worship. One of the most annoying of these was the test oath which all ministers were compelled to take. However, these difficulties were largely overcome and the close of the period found the churches prosperous and ready for a forward movement.

Missouri and the West. Soon after the opening of this period Missouri became a colonizing State. Her citizens had for years conducted the Sante Fe trade and the fur trade of the great West. They had become familiar with the trails and passes throughout the great desert and the mountains beyond. Under the leadership of Stephen Austin they had already settled Texas. In the early forties a colony of more than three hundred under the leadership of David Barnett moved to Oregon. These were followed by other colonies to Oregon and California.

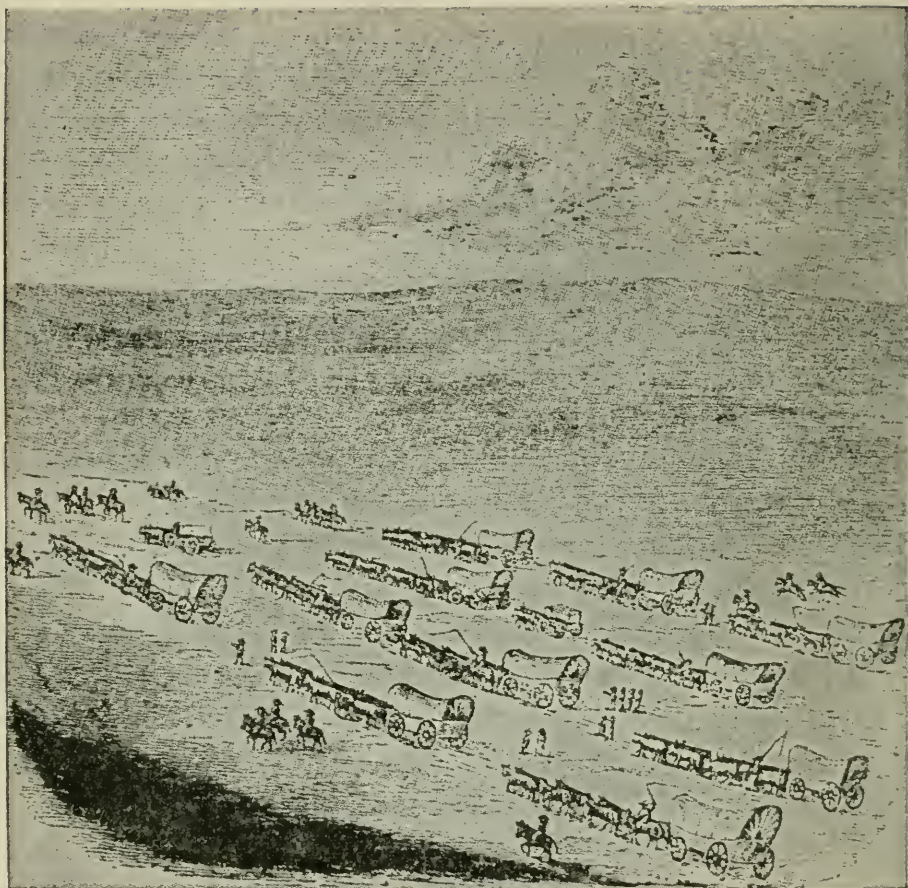
Many Missourians had gone to Texas to aid in the war for Texan independence, and Missourians were greatly interested in the annexation of Texas to the United States after she had won her independence from Mexico. The Democratic campaign issue of "Annexation of Texas and Occupation of Oregon" was very popular in the State. After declaration of war, troops were easily raised in Missouri. One regiment went down the Mississippi to New Orleans but did not see active service. General Kearney's expedition, with the exception of three hundred men, were Missourians. General Sterling Price followed General Kearney with about twelve hundred Missourians. General Kearney went from Sante Fe to southern California with a part of his men and left General Price in command at Sante Fe. Colonel Doniphan, in command of the Missourians led to New Mexico

by Kearney, was sent southward through the Mexican province of Chihuahua.¹⁵ From the city of Chihauhau, which he captured March 1, 1847, Doniphan marched to Saltillo and then to the coast at Matamoras. From Matamoras Doniphan and his men were brought home by way of New Orleans and the Mississippi River.

During the Mexican War the dispute with Great Britain over the Oregon boundary was satisfactorily settled. Senator Linn of Missouri was called the father of Oregon because of his service to the people of the territory and his efforts to obtain Congressional action looking to the organization and settlement of the country under the laws of the United States. In 1846 Senator Benton took the lead in the United States Senate in advocating a compromise on the 49 degrees north latitude. Thus not only did Missouri settlers move to the western states, but Missouri statesmen looked after the interests of these western people until they became organized and had representatives of their own in Congress. Fremont, who is known as "the pathfinder" and who was the son-in-law of Senator Benton, employed a great many Missourians in his explorations. The most famous of these was "Kit" Carson.¹⁶

¹⁵ This expedition of Doniphan's is one of the most famous marches on record. From the time the expedition left Missouri until it arrived at the Gulf coast the men had marched 3,000 miles. Most of the way was through a desert country, inhabited by hostile Indians or Mexicans, if inhabited at all. They had often marched for long distances without water or food yet they accomplished the march with a loss of less than fifty men counting those who had fallen in battle. The returned heroes received a great welcome in St. Louis.

¹⁶ Christopher Carson, usually known as "Kit" Carson, was born in Kentucky in 1809 but his parents moved to Howard County, Missouri while he was an infant. At seventeen years of age "Kit" left home and became a hunter and trapper. He was a trapper and hunter for sixteen



OVERLAND TRAIN ORGANIZED TO LEAVE WESTERN MISSOURI
FOR CALIFORNIA FOLLOWING THE DISCOVERY OF GOLD
From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State, by permission of the Missouri
Historical Society

The Missouri traders and trappers had for years penetrated the mountain passes and traveled the trails of the

years. When Fremont was planning his exploring expedition in 1842 he employed "Kit" Carson as a guide. Fremont's success as an explorer was due very largely to Carson's ability and skill as a mountaineer, Indian fighter, and guide.

In 1853 Carson was given the difficult task of driving 6,500 sheep across the plains to California. He accomplished it successfully. He rose to the rank of brigadier general during the Civil War. He died in Colorado in 1869.

great western mountains. Fremont used these men as guides and after traveling the routes, many of them well known to the trappers, he described them in his official reports. The discovery of gold in California caused a great rush of people across the plains. A great many Missourians went to California, and Missouri became important as the last western outpost from which the caravans could be supplied with provisions.

Slavery in Missouri. Slavery in Missouri was a very different institution from slavery as it existed in the states farther south. The number of slaves in Missouri was never large in proportion to the white population. From 1830 to 1860 the percentage of slaves to the entire population continually decreased. In 1860 there were 114,931 slaves in the State. This was less than one-tenth of the entire population.

There were very few great plantations in Missouri. There were no great staple crops like cotton. Slaves were not ordinarily worked in gangs driven by an overseer, but were used as general field hands.¹⁷

The people of the State were very much opposed to free negroes. In 1835 a free negro code was passed. This code required every free negro to have a license. In 1843 a drastic law was passed for the purpose of restricting the immigration of free negroes into Missouri.

In 1847 a law was passed which provided that "No person shall instruct any negroes or mulattoes in reading or writing in this state under penalty of \$500 fine or not more than six months imprisonment or both." The dread of the

¹⁷ This meant that the number of slaves held by one man was not usually large. "Very few masters had one hundred slaves and not many had fifty." Most men who owned slaves had fewer than five. However, the number varied from one to four hundred.

effect of abolition literature caused the passage of the law prohibiting the teaching of reading and writing.

Kansas Border Trouble. After the Mexican War, the South became dominant in the nation and the slavery question entered into and absorbed all other political questions.

One of the biggest problems was that of new territories. The first contest raged in Congress from 1846 when Wilmot introduced his proviso until the passage of the various acts of the Omnibus Bill.¹⁸

Senator Benton and the great majority of Missourians had wanted the question settled by extending the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific.¹⁹ After the passage of the Omnibus Bill, which the southern element considered a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, there arose, in western Missouri, a popular demand for the organization of the Kansas-Nebraska territory.²⁰

¹⁸ California was admitted as a free state. The greater part of the state was south of the Missouri Compromise line if it had been extended to the Pacific. While the Compromise did not say that all territory south of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes should be slave territory, yet the south interpreted that way. They considered the demand of the northern element that slavery be excluded from all territory a violation of the spirit of the Missouri Compromise. And they considered the admission of California as a free state a repeal of the Missouri Compromise. Besides the admission of California as a free state, the Omnibus bill carried a number of distinct acts and was intended to be a settlement of the whole slavery question.

¹⁹ The Missouri Legislature passed a resolution to that effect in 1847 instructing Missouri's Senators and requesting her representatives to work and vote for a measure of that kind.

²⁰ In June, 1852 a public meeting was held in Platte County and resolutions were adopted asking Congress to immediately organize the Nebraska territory and provide for the settlement of the territory as soon as the Indian claims could be extinguished. In November, 1853 the citizens of Andrew County passed similar resolutions. A call was issued for

Senator David R. Atchison lived at Plattsburg near the western border of the State and was, therefore, especially interested in having the territory to the west opened to settlement. However, he made it very plain to Congress that Missourians wanted the territory organized under laws that would allow them to go to the new country and take their slaves with them. Senator Douglas of Illinois, chairman of the committee on territories,²¹ introduced and secured the passage of the famous Kansas-Nebraska Bill. This bill contained a clause repealing the Missouri Compromise. It provided that the people of the territories should decide for themselves whether the State should be slave or free.

The passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill transferred the struggle over slavery from the halls of Congress to the prairies of eastern Kansas. Anti-slavery immigrants in large numbers came to Kansas from all parts of the North. Missouri furnished the greater part of the proslavery immigrants.

Soon trouble arose between the two classes of immigrants. Defensive societies of various kinds were organized in western Missouri. Their object was to aid the Missour-

"A general convention of all friends of Nebraska" to meet in St. Joseph in January, 1854. This convention passed strong resolutions favoring opening Nebraska territory to settlement. A similar convention was held in St. Louis about the same time.

²¹ Mr. P. Orman Ray has made an extensive study of the origin and passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. He believes Senator Atchison is responsible for Douglas pushing the bill. According to Ray, Atchison told Douglas the kind of bill he wanted passed and asked Douglas to push it through or resign from the chairmanship of the committee on territories and allow him (Atchison) to be given the chairmanship so he could push the bill through. Douglas asked Atchison to let him have until the next day to think it over and he would either bring in the bill desired, by Atchison or resign his chairmanship. The next day he told Atchison he would push the bill.

ians who had settled in Kansas. Armed bands crossed into Kansas on election days and voted. Senator Atchison was the leader of the Missourians in these border raids.

Soon armed bands of free state men led by such men as John Brown and Jim Lane began making raids against the pro-slavery settlements in Kansas. Later they frequently crossed into Missouri. Counties along the western boundary south of Kansas City were kept in a state of excitement by this border warfare from 1854 until the close of the Civil War.

The people of the border suffered much throughout the entire period. But the greatest suffering and loss of property was occasioned by the method finally used to put an end to the raids. This was the notorious "order number eleven" issued by General Thomas Ewing in the fall of 1863. This order required all people living in Jackson, Cass, Bates, and a part of Vernon County, except those living within one mile of the principal towns, to leave within fifteen days. While this policy was successful in stopping border warfare, it practically depopulated one of the most prosperous sections of the State. Such buildings and improvements as were left after the order was executed were destroyed by the prairie fires. For three years the district was desolate. When the people came back in 1866 they had to build their homes all over again.

After the war, many of the men who had been trained in this border warfare became bandits and spent most of their lives in robbing banks, holding up trains, and murdering innocent people. The most notorious of these were the James boys and the Youngers.

CHAPTER V

POLITICAL ANNALS 1860-1870

The Twenty-first General Assembly. The General Assembly elected in August, 1860 met December 31.¹ South Carolina had passed an ordinance of secession ten days before. Great excitement prevailed. The one question was, "What should Missouri do?" Governor Stewart's fare-

¹ Four political parties were represented in the General Assembly. The relative strength of the four parties was very different from the relative vote polled in the presidential election. The Breckenridge Democrats polled only 31,317 votes yet they had sixty-two members in the General Assembly. The Douglas Democrats polled 58,801 votes, but had only forty-six members, while the Constitutional Unionists polled 58,372 votes and had only forty-four members. The Republicans had polled 17,028 votes and had thirteen members.

The large number of Breckenridge Democrats in the General Assembly in proportion to the vote cast is more easily seen if we divide the vote cast by each party by the number of members the party had in the General Assembly. The total vote cast was 165,518. There were 165 members in the General Assembly, one member for 1,000 voters. The Breckenridge Democrats had one member for each 505 votes; the Douglas Democrats, one member for each 1,278 votes; the Constitutional Unionist, one member for each 1,326 votes; and the Republicans one member for each 1,309 votes.

The large proportion of Breckenridge Democrats was probably due to the fact that the southern wing of the Democratic Party had secured control of the party machinery in the Benton contest. The State election was in August and the nominations for State and County offices were made before the split in the Democratic Party at the Charleston Convention. As the leaders in control of the party were southern Democrats, most of the nominees for the General Assembly were southern Democrats and when the split came naturally became Breckenridge Democrats.

well message concluded with an appeal for the maintenance of the Union. Governor Jackson in his inaugural address insisted that it was the duty of Missouri "to stand by the South." He recommended the calling of a state convention to consider the relation of Missouri to the Union. A bill providing for such a convention was passed January 16, 1861. It provided for the election of delegates February 18 and for the meeting of the convention at Jefferson City, February 28. After a stormy session in which little of importance was done, except the passage of the bill providing for the convention, the General Assembly adjourned March 28. It was called in extra session April 22 and passed the Militia Bill giving the governor power to raise, organize, and train an army of 50,000 men. When Governor Jackson fled from the capitol, a part of the members of the General Assembly went with him, but the majority went to their homes.

The Convention. There was just one month from the passage of the bill providing for a convention until the date set for the election of delegates. Frank P. Blair,² leader of

² Frank P. Blair, Jr. is one of the most interesting men connected with Missouri history. He was born at Lexington, Kentucky, February 19, 1821; was graduated from Princeton in 1841; came to Missouri in 1842 and began the practice of law as a partner of his brother, Montgomery Blair. He went to Sante Fe in 1845 for his health, and when General Kearney took New Mexico, Blair was made Attorney General for the territory. He returned to St. Louis in 1847 and supported Van Buren instead of Lewis Cass, the regular Democratic nominee. He supported Benton in his appeal to the people of Missouri on the slavery question in 1849. Blair was the one young political leader whom Benton trusted. He purchased an interest in the "St. Louis Democrat" (later the "Globe Democrat") the Benton paper, and became one of its leading contributors. He was not an abolitionist, but favored getting rid of negroes in Missouri on the ground that negro labor could be used better in other

the unconditional Union men, succeeded in effecting an agreement with the conditional Union men, and only one Union ticket was placed in the field. The issue was for and against the passage by the convention of an ordinance of secession. The campaign was brief, active and exciting. The election resulted in the choice of a large majority of delegates opposed to secession. The popular majority for the Union was about 80,000.

places and that Missouri would be more prosperous without it. He was misrepresented by his opponents, who denounced him as an abolitionist. Concerning this charge Mr. Blair said: "Those fellows know very well how false the charge is, and therefore there is no good trying to put them right. But what they do not see is that by calling me an abolitionist, who am not to be scared at such things, they are enuring those who secretly sympathize with me, but who are not as thick skinned, to hear themselves also called by foul names, without being terrified out of their senses. Let them go on—they will make the name abolitionist respectable sooner than they dream." Blair became the recognized leader of the Benton-Democrats after Benton's retirement. His father and brother, Montgomery Blair, who lived in Maryland had worked and voted for Fremont in 1856, and he and his cousin, B. Gratz Brown who was editor of the "St. Louis Democrat," took an active part in favor of Lincoln and against Douglas in the Senatorial campaign in Illinois in 1858. In 1860 he became the leader of the Republican Party in Missouri, and was very influential in the Chicago Convention in securing the nomination of Lincoln. Undoubtedly his greatest public service was rendered in saving Missouri for the Union in 1861. He rose to the rank of major general during the Civil War, and commanded the Seventeenth Corps in Sherman's march to the sea. He returned to St. Louis in 1865 and began action in the courts against the test oath required of voters by the Drake Constitution. He was the first prominent Republican to break with the party on its reconstruction policy. Blair was emphatic by nature and instead of becoming a Liberal Republican he immediately became a Democrat. He was the Democratic candidate for vice-president in 1868, was elected to the General Assembly of Missouri in 1870, and in 1871 was chosen United States senator to fill the unexpired term of Charles D. Drake, who had resigned. He suffered from a stroke of paralysis in 1872 and never fully recovered. In 1873 he was defeated for re-election to the United States Senate, but was appointed State insurance commissioner which office he held until his death in 1875.

The convention met in Jefferson City, February 28, as required by law. It elected Ex-Governor Sterling Price president and adjourned to meet in St. Louis. There it passed resolutions declaring that at present there was no adequate cause to impel Missouri to secede from the Union, and that Missouri would support most heartily the attempts at compromise. One resolution urged both North and South to avoid Civil War. The convention then elected a permanent committee with power to call the convention, should occasion demand action, and adjourned March 22, 1861.

The Provisional Government. The Civil War was opened by the firing upon Fort Sumter, April 13 and men in Missouri were soon compelled to choose between the Union and secession. Governor Jackson and a number of the State officers took sides with the South. The committee reconvened the convention July 22. The President, Sterling Price, and about twenty of the ninety-nine members had enlisted in the cause of the South. The Vice-President, Robert Wilson, called the convention to order and was made President. The convention declared the offices of governor, lieutenant governor, and secretary of state vacant. It then elected Hamilton R. Gamble³ governor, Willard P. Hall, lieutenant governor, and Mordecai Oliver, secretary of state.

³Hamilton R. Gamble was born in Virginia in 1798. He was the youngest of seven children. His father had been born in Ireland, and was ruling elder in the Presbyterian Church. Gamble moved to Howard County, Missouri in 1718. He became prosecuting attorney, and later Secretary of State under Governor Bates. He moved to St. Louis and soon became one of the leading lawyers of the city. In 1851 he was elected one of the judges of the supreme court, but resigned in 1855 on account of ill health. He moved to Philadelphia in 1858 to educate his children. When the Missouri legislature passed the act calling a convention he returned at once and entered the campaign against secession. He was elected to the

Difficulties of the New Government. The Confederates attempted to maintain the Jackson government in the State, and it was not until the battle of Pea Ridge, March 6-8, 1862, that Jackson gave up the plan of re-establishing himself as governor of Missouri and making the State a member of the Southern Confederacy.

The new government was without money and revenue was hard to raise by taxation during the confusion of the earlier part of the war.

The support of the civil officers of the State was necessary if the provisional government was to succeed. The convention passed an ordinance which provided that all officers must take an oath of loyalty to the United States government and to the provisional government of Missouri. Failure on the part of any officer to take the oath⁴ within sixty days made the office vacant.

Many officers refused to take the oath and their places were filled with loyal men. The ordinance also provided that any person who should take the oath provided within sixty days "Shall be exempt from arrest or punishment for offenses previously committed against the provisional government of this State, or giving aid or comfort to its enemies in the present Civil War." The sixty days during which this oath might be taken ended December 17, 1861.

The First Test Oath for Voters. The convention was called together by Governor Gamble, June 2, 1862. It passed an ordinance dividing the State into nine Congres-

convention and made chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations. When it became necessary to organize a provisional government, the convention selected him for governor. Worn out by his official duties, he died January 31, 1864.

⁴ This was the first test oath of loyalty for civil officers and citizens and was adopted October 16, 1861.

sional Districts and providing for a general election of congressmen and members of the General Assembly on Tuesday after the first Monday in November, 1862. The first section defined the qualifications for voters and civil officers and provided that no person who had not previously taken the oath prescribed in the ordinance should vote at any election held in the State.

The oath required the voter to swear that he would pledge true faith and allegiance to the United States government and that he would not give aid or comfort to its enemies or to the enemies of the provisional government of Missouri. That he had not since December 17, 1861 willfully taken up arms, or levied war, against the United States, or against the provisional government of the State of Missouri. A similar oath was prescribed for all persons who should be elected or appointed to any civil office in the State and for all jurymen, attorneys, teachers, and preachers.

Emancipation. The most troublesome problem which the provisional government had to meet was that of emancipation. General Fremont, who had been made commander of the Department of Missouri in July, issued a proclamation declaring that the slaves of all persons found in armed rebellion against the United States should be free. This proclamation was at once disapproved by Lincoln. During the winter of 1861 and 1862 Lincoln advocated compensated abolition in the border states.⁵

The President's plan was to free the slaves in the border states by compensating the owners before emancipating the slaves in the states in rebellion. He contemplated putting his plan in operation in Missouri first. (In fact President Lincoln made Missouri the key to his border state policies throughout his administration). In December, 1862 Senator Henderson after conference with the President introduced a bill

A gradual emancipation ordinance was introduced in the convention in June, 1862, but it was defeated by a vote of fifty-two to nineteen. In November, 1862 a large majority of the members elected to the legislature favored some kind of emancipation.⁶ The emancipationists, however, were divided as to the method to be used. The conservative element favored gradual emancipation, but the more radical element favored immediate emancipation.⁷

appropriating \$20,000,000 to pay the loyal slave owners of Missouri for their slaves. A similar bill was introduced in the House, but it provided only \$10,000,000. Both the bills passed. But the difference in amount made a compromise between the two houses necessary. The Senate agreed to \$15,000,000, but the opponents of the measure in the House prevented a vote until the end of the session. Thus the attempt of President Lincoln to compensate the loyal owners of slaves in the border states failed.

⁶ The question of emancipation was agitating the whole United States during the years 1861 to 1863. It must be remembered that President Lincoln's preliminary emancipation proclamation was issued in September, 1862, and his final proclamation January 1, 1863. These proclamations, however, did not affect the status of slavery in the border states. But they undoubtedly contributed much to the emancipation sentiment in these states.

The rapid change in emancipation sentiment in Missouri can best be seen in the St. Louis elections. In the Congressional election in November, 1862, the chief issue was emancipation. There was no question about the great majority being for emancipation. But the Republicans were divided into gradual and immediate emancipationists. So important was the issue considered that Frank P. Blair, the close friend of President Lincoln, who had saved Missouri for the Union, was persuaded to resign his commission in the army, come home, and run for Congress in the St. Louis district as a gradual emancipationist. There were three candidates and the vote was as follows: Blair, gradual emancipationist, 4,743; Knox, immediate emancipationist, 4,590; and Boggy, Democrat, 2,536.

⁷ Five months later the immediate emancipationists, now called Radicals, carried the city election in St. Louis by an overwhelming majority.

But the legislature had no power to emancipate the slaves, because that could not be done without changing the constitution. Some claimed that the convention did have such power. The rapid increase in emancipation sentiment convinced the conservatives that some kind of emancipation must come soon. To prevent immediate emancipation, Governor Gamble called together the convention elected in 1861, and recommended the passage of a gradual emancipation ordinance. The convention met June 15 and passed the suggested ordinance. All slaves were declared to be free after July 4, 1870.⁸

If Governor Gamble and the gradual emancipationists thought this measure would solve the problem and bring the agitation to an end, they were mistaken. It seems rather to have spurred the Radicals to action.

The Radical Convention. The Radicals answered the conservative attempt at emancipation by calling a mass convention at Jefferson City.⁹ Resolutions were passed condemning the Gamble government and asking Governor Gamble and Lieutenant-Governor Hall to resign; sustaining the United States government in a vigorous prosecution of the war; commending President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation and urging the employment of negro troops;

⁸ The convention adjourned July 1, 1863 and was never called together again.

⁹ Davis and Durrie's "History of Missouri" says: "four-fifths of the counties were represented." Switzler in his history of Missouri says: "forty-four counties were unrepresented. Fifteen counties were represented by but one person; six by but two; eight by but three; nine by but four; etc. St. Louis County furnished 107; Franklin County, forty-nine; Moniteau, forty-four; Cole, thirty-seven; St. Charles, thirty-one; Pettis, twenty-eight; Miller and Johnson, twenty-four each." The counties along the Missouri Pacific Railroad sent most of the delegates.

and demanding that the State legislature call a constitutional convention to emancipate the slaves immediately. A committee of seventy was appointed to go to Washington to explain the Missouri situation to President Lincoln. This committee passed through a number of large cities of the North on its way to Washington. Everywhere it was entertained and encouraged by the radical element of the North who wanted the slaves of the border states freed and negro soldiers used against the South. The final public reception was given to the committee at New York City. When the committee arrived in Washington both the Missourians and President Lincoln realized that the committee represented not only the Radicals of Missouri but also those of the whole nation. The President heard the complaints and requests of the committee and after considering them for five days gave the committee his reply, which was for the most part a refusal to grant their requests.¹⁰ They had requested the removal of General Schofield as commander

¹⁰ The reply of President Lincoln to this committee is one of the longest letters he ever wrote. The paragraph which describes the condition of Missouri during the Civil War is considered the best description of the factional situation ever written. It is as follows: "We are in Civil War. In such cases there always is a main question; but in this case that question is a perplexing compound—Union and Slavery. It thus becomes a question not of two sides merely but of at least four sides, even among those who are for the Union, saying nothing of those who are against it. Thus, those who are for the Union with, but not without, Slavery—those for it without but not with—those for it with or without, but prefer it with, and those for it with or without but prefer it without.

"Among these again is a subdivision of those who are for gradual, but not for immediate, and those who are for immediate, but not for gradual extinction of slavery. It is easy to conceive that all these shades of opinion, and even more, may be sincerely entertained by honest and truthful men. Yet, all being for the Union, by reason of these differences, each will prefer a different way of sustaining the Union. At once sincerity

of the Department of Missouri. The President's refusal to do so displeased the Missouri Radicals and they took an active part in calling a national convention which met in Cleveland, Ohio in May, 1864 and nominated John C. Fremont for president. They also controlled the delegation in the regular Republican convention at Baltimore and cast the vote of the State against Lincoln.¹¹

The Constitutional Convention of 1865. The Radicals carried the State in November, 1864 and elected Thomas C. Fletcher¹² governor. The resolution submitted by the legislature calling a Constitutional Convention was also carried.

is questioned and motives assailed. Actual war coming, blood grows hot, and blood is spilled. Thought is forced from old channels into confusion. Deception breeds and thrives. Confidence dies, and universal suspicion reigns. Each man feels an impulse to kill his neighbor, lest he be killed by him. Revenge and retaliation follow. And all this, as before said, may be among honest men only. But this is not all. Every foul bird comes abroad, and every dirty reptile rises up. These add crime to confusion. Strong measures deemed indispensable, but harsh at best, such men make worse by mal-administration. Murders for old grudges, and murders for pelf, proceed under any cloak that will best cover for the occasion. These causes amply account for what has occurred in Missouri, without ascribing it to the weakness or wickedness of any General."

¹¹ The votes of Missouri delegates were the only votes cast against Lincoln in the Convention. The Missourians voted for Grant, but after roll call was completed they changed their votes from Grant to Lincoln thus making the nomination unanimous. But they had shown their disapproval of Lincoln by voting against him.

¹² Thomas Clement Fletcher was born in Jefferson County, Missouri in 1827. He received a common school education. He was elected circuit clerk of Jefferson County in 1854 and admitted to the bar in 1857, while still circuit clerk. He was an opponent of slavery and became an active Republican upon the organization of that party. He was delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1860. He was a colonel of the thirty-first Missouri regiment in the Union Army. Fletcher was elected in 1864, and was the first native born Missourian as well as the first Republican to be governor of the State. He died in 1899.

The delegates were elected at a special election and the convention assembled January 6, 1865. It passed an ordinance abolishing slavery immediately, January 11, 1865. Thus Missouri abolished slavery within the State before the thirteenth amendment became operative.

The convention then drew up a constitution of which the ordinance became a part. This constitution contained a drastic test oath which all voters were required to take. Another provision contained a similar oath which all teachers, preachers, and lawyers were required to take before they were allowed to practice their professions. The constitution was submitted to the people for adoption, but only those who could take a special oath of loyalty prescribed by the convention were allowed to vote. The constitution was adopted by a vote of 43,670 to 41,808. Thus the majority in favor of it was 1,862.

The convention had on March 17 passed an ordinance, sometimes called the Ousting Ordinance, which provided that the offices of judges of the supreme court, the circuit courts and certain county officials should be vacated. Governor Fletcher was given power to fill these offices by appointment until the next regular election. This ordinance put the machinery of the State government entirely in the hands of the Radicals.

The Rule of the Radicals. The legislature passed a registration law in 1866 which gave the superintendent of registration in each registration district great powers. This law was amended in 1868 by making the superintendents of registration appointive rather than elective, as they had been. The operation of the test oath for voters and the drastic administration of the registration laws enabled the

Radicals to remain in power from 1864 to 1870. The opposition to the Radicals came from two sources, the democratic party which was reorganized by Lewis Bogy and John S. Phelps, and the Conservative Union party, a faction of the Republican party under the leadership of Frank P. Blair. After the Radical victory of 1866 the Conservative Union party ceased to exist. Most of its members following the lead of Frank P. Blair joined the Democratic organization.

Under the Constitution of 1865 the governor's term of office was two years, but he could be elected to succeed himself. Governor Fletcher was re-elected in 1866. In 1868 the Radicals carried the State for Grant by a majority of more than 25,000. Joseph W. McClurg¹³ was elected governor over John S. Phelps, Democrat, by a majority of nearly 20,000.

But the dissatisfaction with the Radical administration was growing rapidly within the party.

The Rise of the Liberal Republican Party. Some prominent members of the Radical party had never been in hearty accord with the majority of the party on the policy of disfranchising so many people by requiring the test oath for voters. This liberal sentiment grew rapidly in the ranks of

¹³ Joseph W. McClurg was born in St. Louis County, Missouri, Feb. 22, 1818. He was educated at Oxford, Ohio. He taught school for a time but began the practice of law in 1840. Later he moved to Camden County and became a merchant. In 1860 he was an outspoken unconditional Union man. He soon became a leader in that section of the State, and was elected to Congress in 1862 where he served until he was elected governor in 1868. McClurg has the distinction of being the first governor to recommend a law forbidding the sale of intoxicating liquor as a beverage. After his defeat for governor by B. Gratz Brown in 1870 he retired to private life. In 1889 he was appointed register of the land office at Springfield, Missouri. He died at his home in Lebanon, Missouri in 1900 at the age of eighty-two.

the party in the later sixties. In 1867 a German named Carl Schurz¹⁴ moved from Michigan to St. Louis to become editor of a German newspaper. He soon became a leader in the liberal movement. In the Republican State Convention which met in Jefferson City on August 31, 1870, Schurz became chairman of the resolutions committee. He made the majority report of the committee which advocated the removal of all political disabilities and the extension of the suffrage to all classes of citizens. A minority report was presented opposing the immediate removal of the political disabilities. The convention adopted the minority report by a vote of 439 to 342. About 250 delegates immediately left the convention and nominated a full state ticket with B. Gratz Brown for governor. The new party took the name Liberal Republican party. The Democrats did not make nominations for state offices, but supported the ticket nominated by the Liberal Republicans. The Radical Convention nominated Governor McClurg. Brown¹⁵ was elected

¹⁴ Carl Schurz was born in Germany, March 2, 1829. He came to the United States in 1852, and lived in Philadelphia for three years, and then moved to Wisconsin. He became an active Republican and took part in the Lincoln-Douglas Campaign against Douglas. During the Civil War he rose to the rank of major general. After the War he went to Detroit and started a German newspaper. In 1867 Schurz moved to St. Louis to become editor of a German language paper there. He soon became a leader in Missouri politics and was elected to the United States Senate from Missouri in 1869. He took a leading part in the organization of the Liberal Republican Party in Missouri in 1872. He was a chairman of the National Convention in Cincinnati which nominated Horace Greeley. Schurz was especially associated with the Civil Service Reform. He was made secretary of interior by President Hays. He made much trouble for the spoils politicians, and they made as much trouble for him as they could. He worked and voted for Cleveland in 1884.

¹⁵ Benjamin Gratz Brown was born in Lexington, Kentucky in 1826. He was graduated at Yale in 1847, and moved to St. Louis where he

over McClurg by a majority of 41,038. Six amendments to the Constitution had been submitted to the people at the general election in 1870. These amendments removed the objectionable features of the Constitution. They were adopted by majorities ranging from 105,000 to 130,000.

The Liberal movement in the Republican party which had been so successful in Missouri spread to other states and led to the organization of the National Liberal Republican party in 1872. Besides a general amnesty the party advocated lower tariffs and Civil Service Reform.

began the practice of law the same year. He was elected to the state legislature as a Benton Democrat in 1854. He became editor of the "Democrat" (now "Globe Democrat") in 1854. Brown fought the last political duel in the State with Thomas C. Reynolds, later lieutenant governor of the State. Brown was severely wounded in the knee. He became a Republican about 1858, and was active along with Blair and Lyon in saving Missouri for the Union in 1861. He was elected to the Senate, 1863 to 1867. He was one of the original leaders of the Liberal Republicans and was elected governor by more than 40,000 majority. Brown became a candidate for vice-president. He died at his home in St. Louis in 1885.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER V

1. What question confronted the twenty-first General Assembly when it met?
2. What was Governor Stewart's advice?
3. What recommendations did Governor Jackson make?
4. What action did the General Assembly take?
5. What action was taken at the special session?
6. What was the issue before the people when they voted for delegates to the convention?
7. What was the result of the election?
8. What action did the convention take?
9. What was the effect in Missouri of the firing upon Fort Sumpter?
10. How was the provisional government created?
11. What difficulties confronted the new government?

12. Give a sketch of the life of Frank P. Blair, of Governor Jackson, of Governor Gamble.
13. When and why was the first test oath passed?
14. What was the political issue in the election of 1862?
15. What was the President's plan for freeing the slaves of the border states?
16. Why did not the legislature take some action on emancipation?
17. What action was taken by the convention?
18. What was the drift of public sentiment on the subject of emancipation? How was it shown?
19. What action was taken by the Radical convention at Jefferson City?
20. How was the committee of seventy received in the North and at Washington?
21. Discuss Lincoln's reply to the committee.
22. What was the attitude of the Missouri Radicals toward Lincoln after that?
23. What were the most prominent features of the Constitution of 1865?

CHAPTER VI

THE CIVIL WAR

The Arsenal at St. Louis. The secession movement in Missouri was definitely checked by the refusal of the convention to pass an ordinance of secession. Governor Jackson and other advocates of secession were compelled to adopt a waiting policy.

One of the largest arsenals in the United States was located near St. Louis. Jefferson Davis, who had been secretary of war under Buchanan, had adopted the policy of placing the United States arsenals in the southern states under the command of men who were in sympathy with the South. These men usually surrendered the United States arsenals to the state governments on demand. Such demands were always made immediately after a state had passed an ordinance of secession. A letter¹ dated January 24, 1861 (more than three months before Lyon took Camp

¹ Extracts from General Frost's letter.

"St. Louis, Mo., January 24, 1861.

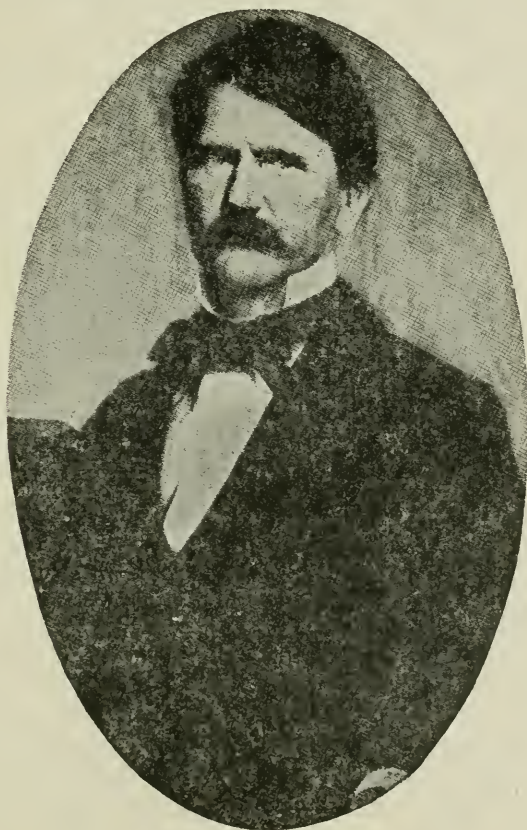
"His Excellency, C. F. Jackson, Governor of Missouri.

"Dear Sir: I have just returned from the arsenal, where I have had an interview with Major Bell, the commanding officer of that place. I found the Major everything that you or I could desire. He assured me that he considered that Missouri had, whenever the time came, *a right to claim it as being on her soil*. He gave me to understand that he would not attempt any defense against the proper state authorities." The letter then goes into considerable detail concerning the agreement between Bell and Frost. The letter was captured with other confederate records in Alabama near the close of the War.

Jackson), from General Frost to Governor Jackson shows the purpose of Jackson to seize the arsenal at St. Louis and indicates that the commander, Major Bell, was ready to surrender the arsenal to the State authorities on demand.

Soon after Fort Sumter was fired upon, President Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 volunteers. Missouri's quota was 4,000. Governor Jackson refused to furnish a man.

Frank P. Blair, leader of the unconditional Union men, had begun the organization of military clubs in St. Louis



FRANCIS P. BLAIR

From Stevens' Missouri, the Center State,
by permission of the Missouri Historical Society

soon after South Carolina had passed the ordinance of secession. The membership in these clubs now numbered several thousand men who had been drilling without arms.

Upon Jackson's refusal to furnish men to the national government, Blair telegraphed President Lincoln offering to fill the entire quota from his military clubs. The offer was promptly accepted. The men were mustered into the United States service and armed from the arsenal. Blair knew of Major Bell's sympathy for the secession movement and urged President Lincoln to remove Bell and place Captain Nathaniel Lyon,² a strong Union man in command of the arsenal. President Lincoln complied with Blair's re-

² Nathaniel Lyon was born in Ashford, Connecticut, July 14, 1818. He was graduated from West Point in 1841, was assigned to the second infantry, served with his regiment in Florida and in the Mexican War and was promoted to first lieutenant during the march from Vera Cruz to Mexico. He was commended to special notice and promoted to captain August 20, 1847. From 1849 to 1853 he was on duty in California and made a successful campaign against the Indians. In 1854 he spent the winter in Washington and listened to the debates in Congress on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. The next year he was sent to Fort Riley, Kansas, about 120 miles west of Kansas City. There he was in the midst of the bitter struggle between the Free State emigrants and the Missourians. He did all an officer of the army dared to do to aid the Free State people. Writing in 1855, after discussing the preparations made to resist the Missourians he said: "Indeed it is fully apprehended that the aggression of the pro-slavery men will not be checked till a lesson has been taught in letters of fire and blood."

In January, 1861 he was stationed at Fort Scott, Kansas. On January 27 he wrote: "I do not consider troops at all necessary here, and should much prefer to be employed in the legitimate and appropriate service of contributing to stay the idiotic fratricidal hands now at work to destroy our government. . . . It is no longer useful to appeal to reason, but to the sword. I shall not hesitate to rejoice at the triumph of my principles, though this triumph may involve an issue, in which I certainly expect to expose, and very likely lose, my life." "I would a thousand

quest, but Lyon was subordinate to Harney, who commanded the Department of the West. There was no danger of the arsenal's being surrendered without a fight after Lyon was placed in command. Governor Jackson seized the United States Arsenal at Liberty. Harney was then called to Washington and Lyon given full authority.

Camp Jackson. Under orders from the Adjutant-General of the State, General Frost, on May 3, 1861, organized a military camp in the suburbs of St. Louis. State troops were assembled, and arms and ammunition were gathered from various places. One of the streets of the camp was named Beauregard and another Davis in honor of the two most noted southern leaders.³ Blair and Lyon

times rather incur this, than recall the results of our presidential election. We shall rejoice, though, in martyrdom, if need be." Four days later he was ordered to St. Louis with his company.

Colonel Sneed describing him at this time says: "He was now in the forty-third year of his age; of less than medium height; slender and angular; with auburn hair of a sandy color, and a coarse reddish-brown beard. He had deep set blue eyes; features that were rough and homely; and the weather-beaten aspect of a man who had seen much hard service on the frontier." His life from the day of his arrival at St. Louis until the day of his death on the field of Wilson Creek is a part of Missouri history.

³ Much sympathy with the Confederates was displayed in St. Louis. On March fourth, the day of Lincoln's inauguration, an incident occurred which illustrates the aggressive boldness of the secessionist minority. The night before, a body of about fifty "minute men" (the military drill clubs of the secessionists which corresponded to Blair's "wide awakes") raised a flag over their headquarters representing the Confederate states. Great excitement prevailed. A large mob gathered in the street and threatened to tear the flag down. The number of minute men in the building increased to about a hundred. All had muskets. They also had a great quantity of hand grenades and a small cannon loaded and placed to command the entrance.

Blair and Lyon kept their followers quiet and toward midnight the crowd dispersed. The secessionist group had intended to precipitate a

decided that the militia drilling there should be captured at once. On the afternoon of the tenth of May, Lyon marched from the arsenal with a force so large that resistance was impossible. He surrounded the camp, which surrendered without firing a shot.

After the surrender of the camp, while arrangements were being made for taking care of or paroling the prisoners, a very large crowd assembled. After a while the crowd became a mob and attacked a company of German soldiers with sticks, stones, etc. Some officer gave the command to fire. A volley was fired into the crowd. A number of persons were killed. Exaggerated reports that the German troops were plundering, burning, and killing spread to all parts of the State. The legislature, which had been called in extra session after the firing on Fort Sumter, now passed the Militia Law which made the governor practically a dictator.

The governor immediately began raising a large army. General Price now went over to the South. He was made commander of the state troops.

The Price-Harney Agreement. General Harney, who had been temporarily away when Lyon captured Camp Jackson, returned and assumed command.

He made a last effort to preserve the peace of the State. General Price was invited by General Harney to a conference in St. Louis. The two commanders reached an agreement, usually called the Price-Harney agreement. Price promised to use force only to keep order and restore peace. Harney agreed not to interfere outside of the city of St. Louis. This

fight and in the confusion to seize the arsenal. In this they failed. This affair helped Blair to convince the government at Washington that Lyon should be placed in command of the arsenal.

agreement was practically a recognition of the neutrality of Missouri.⁴ The government at Washington could not agree to the Price-Harney agreement. Harney was relieved of his command, and Lyon was placed in charge. He began immediate preparation to stop the recruiting of State troops for use, as Lyon thought, and as afterwards proved to be the case, against the government of the United States.

The Conference at St. Louis. Before military operations began, another conference was held at the Planters Hotel in St. Louis between the representatives of the United States and of the state of Missouri. The United States was represented by General Lyon, Frank P. Blair and Major Conant; the State, by Governor Jackson, General Price and Thomas L. Sneed,⁵ private secretary of Governor Jackson. The con-

⁴ To a great many people, who did not think through the problems of the times, neutrality seemed to be a fair solution of the difficult position for the border states. Jackson and the secession group insisted upon neutrality. But the power to make a declaration of neutrality implies the power to declare war or make peace treaties. Both of these powers are specifically denied to the states by the constitution of the United States.

Thus neutrality is one of the characteristics of a sovereign state. The recognition of the neutrality of Missouri by the United States government would have been equivalent to recognizing that Missouri was an independent sovereign state with power to declare war, and make peace, raise armies, coin money and do any of the things that an independent sovereign state may do.

That was exactly what the war was about. To have recognized the right of a state to declare itself neutral would have been equivalent to a recognition of the right of secession both in theory and practice.

⁵ After Jackson fled from Jefferson City and no longer needed a private secretary, Sneed became a colonel and was placed on General Price's staff. He served the Confederacy during the War. Colonel Sneed had been editor of the St. Louis "Bulletin" before the War and was an enthusiastic Breckenridge man in the campaign of 1860. He was a man of education and culture, and an excellent writer. His book, "The Fight for Missouri," is the best account we have of the war in Missouri in 1861.

ference accomplished nothing in the way of an agreement. It did make clear the issues in the conflict and brought immediate action.

The conference lasted from four to six hours. After it was clear that the only proposal Governor Jackson had to submit was neutrality, General Lyon brought the conference to a close in dramatic fashion.⁶ Jackson returned immediately to Jefferson City, burning the bridge over the Gasconade after his train had passed over it.

Military Operations. The conference at St. Louis was held on June 11, 1861. On the thirteenth, General Lyon with 1,500 men left St. Louis for Jefferson City. On the fifteenth he took possession of the city. Governor Jackson had issued a proclamation calling 50,000 men to arms. He had sent General Price up the river to Boonville, Lexington and Independence to assemble as many men as he could.

On the day before Lyon arrived, Jackson left Jefferson City and went to Boonville where the State militia were assembling under Colonel Marmaduke.

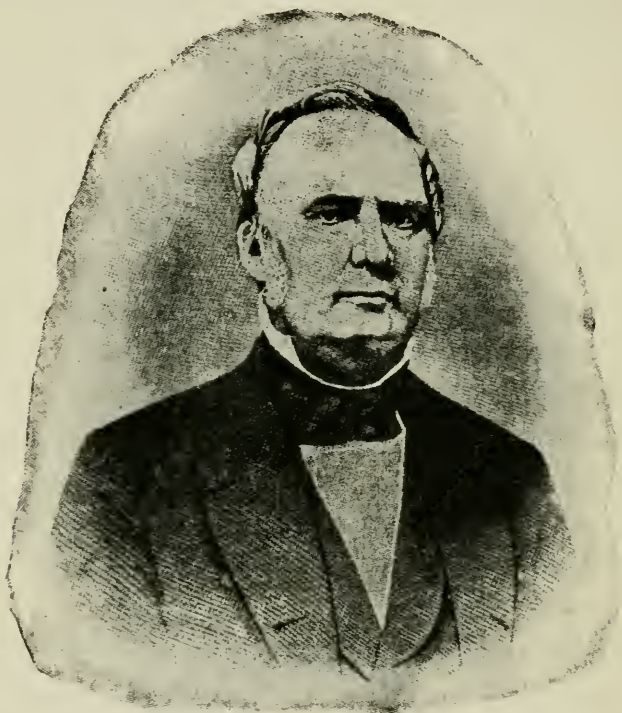
⁶ Colonel Sneed describes the conclusion of the conference as follows: "Lyon closed it as he had opened it, 'Rather,' said he (he was still seated and spoke deliberately, slowly, and with peculiar emphasis), 'Rather than concede to the state of Missouri the right to demand that my government shall not enlist troops within her limits or bring troops into the State whenever it pleases, or move its troops at its own will into, out of, or through the State; rather than to concede to the state of Missouri for one single instant the right to dictate to my government in any matter however unimportant, I would' (rising as he said this, and pointing in turn to every one in the room) 'see you, and you, and you, and you, and you and every man, woman, and child in the State dead and buried.' Turning to the governor he said, 'This means war. In an hour one of my officers will call for you and conduct you out of my lines.'" With that he left the room.

Lyon, after arranging for the occupation of Jefferson City, by three companies under Colonel Boernstein, embarked the rest of his command on steamboats and proceeded up the river to Boonville. He arrived within eight miles of the city Monday morning, June 17, and disembarked the greater part of his army. Governor Jackson ordered Colonel Marmaduke to meet Lyon and hold him in check until General Parsons could arrive from Tipton with his command. Marmaduke met Lyon's forces, but after a brief action he was compelled to retreat to Boonville. During the retreat the greater part of the militia under his command was dispersed. General Parsons having arrived with his men, Governor Jackson retreated to Warsaw, in Benton County, and crossed the Osage.

While the battle of Boonville was insignificant as a military engagement, it was a blow from which the secessionists never recovered. Colonel Sneed says: "It was the consummation of Blair's statesmanlike scheme to make it impossible for Missouri to secede. It was also the crowning achievement of Lyon's well conceived campaign."

The capture of Camp Jackson had prevented the secessionists from seizing the arms belonging to the United States government and had made St. Louis and the surrounding counties secure. The flight of Governor Jackson from Jefferson City had deprived the State government of that prestige which gives force to authority. The dispersion of the volunteers, who had answered the governor's call to fight for the South, at the battle of Boonville extended Lyon's conquest over all north Missouri; made the Missouri River a federal highway; and prevented men and supplies from the rich counties north of the river getting to Price and the Confederates.

The Battle of Carthage. General Price, who had been sent by Governor Jackson to Lexington, arrived there the next day after the battle of Boonville. He immediately began organizing the several thousand militia who had assembled there. But upon hearing of the retreat of Jackson



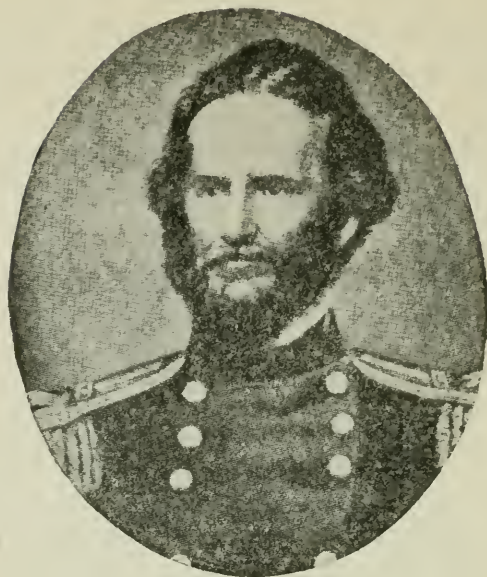
GENERAL STERLING PRICE
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of the Missouri Historical Society

to Warsaw, Price left General Rains in command with orders to move his forces to Lamar in Barton County; and taking his staff and a small escort, he went to Arkansas to meet the Confederate General McCullough and urged him to come to the aid of the Missouri secessionists.

Governor Jackson moved his force from Warsaw to Lamar and joined General Rains. Before Lyon left St. Louis

he sent three regiments to southwestern Missouri to cut off the retreat of Price and Jackson, whom he expected to move in that direction. This force under the command of Sweeny had moved to Springfield. Seigel was sent by Sweeny to Carthage with a force of about nine hundred men to intercept Price. Finding that Price had already passed, Seigel decided to try to hold Jackson north of Spring River until Lyon could arrive. Moving north he met Jackson a few miles south of Lamar. There were about 6,000 men under Jackson's command, but about 2,000 of them were unarmed. The superiority in numbers enabled Jackson to threaten Seigel's flank and compel him to retreat. Seigel, however, succeeded in withdrawing his army and escaping with his supply train. He had failed in his purpose to prevent the union of Jackson's forces with the Confederate army under McCullough which was advancing from Arkansas. The battle of Carthage was fought on the fifth of July. McCullough had entered Missouri on the fourth, and his army and Jackson's were united on the sixth, the next day after the battle. Seigel had barely escaped getting caught between the two armies. He retreated to Mt. Vernon.

Lyon's Difficulties. The next day after the battle of Boonville, June 18, Lyon was notified that Missouri had been detached from the Department of the West and attached to the Department of Ohio under the command of General George B. McClellan. Blair, although badly needed by Lyon, was sent to Washington to try to get Missouri placed under command of Lyon, but in this he failed. He did, however, succeed in getting Missouri and Illinois, and the other states between the Mississippi and the



GEN. NATHANIEL LYON
Who Captured Camp Jackson
and Fell at Wilson's Creek
From Stevens' Missouri, the Center
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souri Historical Society

Rocky Mountains organized in a separate department and placed under the command of General John C. Fremont.

This was done July 3, but Fremont did not reach St. Louis until July 25. Lyon had been detained at Boonville several days in securing wagons and supplies for his march southwest from Boonville. After starting he was delayed by high water. On reaching the Osage River a few miles north of Osceola on July 9 he learned of Seigel's defeat and changing his course marched rapidly to Springfield.

He now had under his command about 6,000 men in and around Springfield. After the union of Jackson and Price with the Confederate forces from Arkansas, Lyon was confronted with from 11,000 to 13,000 men in the combined

armies. The enlistment of 3,000 of Lyon's command expired about the middle of August. He repeatedly urged Fremont to send him reinforcements. Although Fremont had fifty-six thousand men in Missouri and many of them idle, he paid no attention to Lyon's urgent requests for aid until it was too late.

The Battle of Wilson Creek. Left to his own resources and outnumbered two to one Lyon decided to fight rather than surrender all that had been gained in his campaign.⁷ Price and McCullough advanced toward Springfield to Wilson Creek about ten miles to the southwest of the city. Lyon, instead of waiting for the Confederate forces to attack him, moved out and attacked the enemy about five o'clock on the morning of the tenth of August. The attack was a complete surprise to the Confederates, and at first they fell back. General Price soon rallied his men, and one of the most desperate battles of the war took place. General Lyon was killed. The losses of his army amounted to more than twenty-four per cent of those engaged.⁸ Although Lyon's army had been defeated and he had been killed, the

⁷ Lyon wrote a letter to General Fremont on the night of August ninth before starting to attack the Confederates. The letter is a statement of the situation. Colonel Sneed in his "Fight for Missouri" quotes Lyon's letter and then comments as follows: "Not one word about the desperate battle that he was to fight on the morrow; not one fault-finding utterance; not a breath of complaint! But, true to his convictions; true to his flag; true to the Union men of Missouri who confided in and followed him; true to himself; and true to duty, he went out to battle against a force twice as great as his own, with a calmness that was as pathetic as his courage was sublime."

⁸ Colonel Sneed places the loss of the Union army at 1,317, and the loss of the Confederates at 1,230. He places the number engaged under Lyon at 5,400 and under Price and McCullough at 11,000 armed and 2,000 unarmed men.

Confederates had suffered severely and did not attempt pursuit of the Union army. McCullough retired to Arkansas and Price was left to handle the situation in Missouri. Lyon⁹ had not sacrificed his life in vain. His campaign had been successful and accomplished its purpose although he was defeated and killed at Wilson Creek. He had driven the governor and lieutenant governor from the State and had given the Convention time to meet and organize a loyal government. In short he had saved Missouri for the Union.

The Battle of Pea Ridge. After the battle of Wilson Creek the Union army retired to Rolla. Price marched north to Lexington, Missouri and there captured Colonel Mulligan and 3,000 Union soldiers. Threatened by a large Union army marching to Springfield, Price soon returned to the southwestern part of the State. Fremont moved to Springfield where he collected an army of 40,000 men.

⁹ Colonel Sneed, Price's chief of staff at Wilson Creek, in estimating Lyon's work says: "Lyon had not fought and died in vain. By capturing the State militia at Camp Jackson, and driving the governor from the capital, and all his troops into the uttermost corner of the State, and by holding Price and McCullough at bay, he had given the Union men of Missouri time, and opportunity, and courage to bring their State Convention together again; and had given the Convention an excuse and the power to depose Governor Jackson and Lieutenant Governor Reynolds, to vacate the seats of the members of the General Assembly, and to establish a State government, which was loyal to the Union, and which would use the whole organized power of the State, its treasury, its credit, its militia, and all its great resources, to sustain the Union and crush the South. All this had been done while Lyon was boldly confronting the overwhelming strength of Price and McCullough. Had he abandoned Springfield instead, and opened to Price a pathway to the Missouri; had he not been willing to die for the freedom of the negro, and for the preservation of the Union, none of these things would have been done. By wisely planning, by boldly doing, and by bravely dying, he had won the fight for Missouri."

But Price was allowed to hold the southwest counties of the State until February, 1862.¹⁰

General Fremont was relieved of the command in Missouri. In February the Union army, now under General Curtis, moved into southwestern Missouri. Price retreated to northwestern Arkansas. Here he was joined by the Confederate Generals McCullough and Van Dorn. The combined Confederate forces now numbered about 25,000 men. General Curtis took a strong position at Pea Ridge with his army which numbered 10,500 men. Here he was attacked by the Confederates. After a three days' battle the Union army was completely victorious. General McCullough was killed and the Confederate army was so badly beaten that it was disorganized. Price and 5,000 Missourians were transferred east of the Mississippi. The victory at Pea Ridge brought to an end the serious attempts of the secessionists to control Missouri.

Price's Raid. Only once after the battle of Pea Ridge did a real Confederate army enter Missouri. General Price in 1864 made a raid through the State. He entered the southeastern part of the State and rapidly passed Doniphan and Pilot Knob into Franklin County. There he turned west toward Jefferson City, but General Rosecrans, who commanded the Department of Missouri, had ordered a concentration of Union troops there, and Price went around the capital. Passing through Boonville and Lexington, he reached Independence. Here he was overtaken and badly

¹⁰ Governor Jackson now returned to the State and called the legislature in special session at Neosho, October 21. Of course only such members of the legislature as had joined their fortunes to the South responded to the call. Those present passed an ordinance of secession and elected senators and representatives to the Confederate Congress at Richmond.

defeated by the Union forces. Price himself and some of his men escaped into Arkansas. The raid had accomplished nothing but the useless destruction of property and a great deal of suffering.

The Local Struggle. After the battle of Pea Ridge many of the Missourians engaged in the early campaigns in Missouri on the side of the South returned to the State. Many of these operated in small bands and gave the State government and the Union forces in the State much trouble. Some of these bands observed the rules of warfare. Others took no prisoners, but murdered people, and burned and destroyed property without the slightest regard for any government or rules of any kind. They called themselves Confederates. Raids, massacres, and military reprisals followed one another in rapid succession. Neighbors were suspicious of each other. Brother was turned against brother. No man was safe, and frequently women and children suffered untold miseries. Feeling ran high. Men were almost driven into lawlessness. Many took advantage of the disorder to retaliate personal grudges. In all this strife two distinct kinds of warfare prevailed. One was the effort on the part of local Confederate leaders to recruit organized companies for service in the South and get them out of the State. These recruiting efforts were the cause of many small but desperate battles in the State, because one object of the Union forces was to prevent such recruiting. The other type of warfare was usually known as guerilla warfare. It consisted of raids, destruction of property, and murders on the part of the guerilla bands, and the efforts of the authorities to kill or capture these bands. These guerilla leaders had friends and relatives who aided and often concealed them. The

Union forces were on the look-out for those who aided the guerillas. Both the guerilla bands and the Union forces were composed largely of citizens of Missouri. The hatred and desire for revenge aroused by this local warfare did not cease with the end of the war. Both groups engaged in the struggle continued to live in the State. For this reason there is probably no other state in the Union in which the feeling aroused by the Civil War lasted as it did in Missouri. The State was not a victim of carpet bag government after the war, but the condition of the State was worse than it would have been if the government during the reconstruction period had been a carpet bag government.¹¹

The reconstruction government of Missouri was not as irresponsible as the carpet bag governments of the South. But because the reconstruction political conflict was between citizens who were to continue to live in the State, the contest was necessarily somewhat permanent. Farther south there was no permanent conflict on reconstruction

¹¹ The carpet bag governments of the southern states were in the hands of northern immigrants supported by the negro population and protected by the United States army. When the army was withdrawn, the carpet-baggers immediately left for their former homes. They were no longer a part of the population of the state in which they had been holding office. There was no danger of their return to power. The citizenship of the community except for the negro, and he had no voice in the government, was unanimous on political questions of the times. In Missouri the reconstruction government depended upon the votes of the white citizens of the state. The office holding group were actual citizens of the state and continued to live in the state after they lost their offices. Instead of depending upon the negro vote, the government depended upon constitutional limitations enacted during the war, which kept the election machinery in the hands of the office holding class. It could be used to disfranchise their opponents. After the reconstruction government lost control of the state, both its officers and their supporters remained citizens of the state and constituted a strong minority of its population.

questions within the citizenship of any state. The guerrilla warfare of Missouri also left a group of lawless men who became a menace to society. These men continued the life of robbing and murder. Jesse and Frank James and the Youngers were typical of this class.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VI

1. How was the secession movement in Missouri first definitely checked?
2. What is an arsenal? How did the arsenal at St. Louis compare with other arsenals?
3. What was the usual procedure concerning United States arsenals located within a state which seceded?
4. What evidence is there that the United States officer in command of the St. Louis arsenal in January, 1861 was ready to surrender the arsenal to the state government?
5. How did Governor Jackson respond to President Lincoln's call for volunteers?
6. How were the men furnished?
7. What change of commanders at the arsenal was made? Why?
8. Give a sketch of the life of General Lyon.
9. Who organized Camp Jackson? Give date.
10. What evidence was there of sympathy with the Confederates in Camp Jackson and St. Louis?
11. When and by whom was Camp Jackson captured?
12. What was the Price-Harney agreement?
13. Why was it disapproved by President Lincoln?
14. Why was neutrality not a possible solution of the difficulties of the border states?
15. What proposal did Governor Jackson have to submit at the conference at St. Louis?
16. How was the conference closed?
17. Trace the movements of Governor Jackson, General Price, and General Lyon in the campaign which followed the St. Louis conference.
18. What was the effect of the battle of Boonville?
19. What difficulties did Lyon have to contend with after the battle of Boonville?
20. What aid did Jackson and Price receive after the battle of Carthage?

21. What was the comparative strength of the two armies at the battle of Wilson Creek?
22. Why did Lyon give battle under such disadvantages?
23. What was the result of the battle of Wilson Creek?
24. What was accomplished by Price's raid after the battle of Wilson Creek?
25. What was the effect of the battle of Pea Ridge upon the Confederate cause in Missouri?
26. Trace Price's raid through Missouri in 1864. What was accomplished?
27. Describe the two kinds of local warfare carried on in Missouri.
28. What was the effect of this local warfare upon the state?

PART IV

MISSOURI A MODERN STATE: 1870-1920

CHAPTER I

GENERAL SURVEY

A new period of Missouri history began about 1870. This was the fourth period of Missouri history and the third period of her statehood. In this centennial story of Missouri we have considered the fourth period as continuing to the end of the century of statehood, 1920, but there are a number of good reasons for dividing it into two periods. The more the problem is studied the more evident it becomes that about 1900 many changes were taking place in the State. People were beginning to think differently. There appeared a new attitude toward education, religion, politics and industry. The United States assumed a new position in international affairs, and Missouri had her part in doing the new work which this position brought to the country. A Missourian became treasurer of the island of Porto Rico. Many young Missourians went to the Philippines to aid in the education of the Philipinos. The wealth of the State began to increase very rapidly about 1900. But the population which had been showing a marked increase at each census made only slight increases after that date. Many reform movements, which had been agitated by a few people before, began about 1900 to become popular. The prohibi-

tion movement is a notable example. A more intensive study will probably cause the year 1900 to be made the end of the period which began about 1870, and the years 1900 to 1920 will likely be thought of as a separate period.

We shall, however, think of the years from 1870 to 1920 as one period. When we think of this period as a whole, there are a number of facts that are very apparent. The period is one of great individual progress. It is marked by the creation and development of corporations, the growth of cities, the importance of the manufacturing industry, and the increase of wealth. Between 1870 and 1920 the assessed valuation of Missouri has doubled twice.¹ Missouri had 2,000 miles of railroad in 1870. In 1920 she had more than 10,000 miles.

This period is also characterized by the development of voluntary co-operative associations of a cultural, vocational, and social nature. In the later part of the period the State through its institutions, departments of government, commissions and boards has undertaken to do much of the work of society that can be done better by all working together than by individuals or small groups working separately. This activity of the State in doing or supervising the work of society is one of the most striking features of the last few years.

¹ The assessed valuation in 1870 was about \$500,000,000. In 1920 it was more than \$2,000,000,000. The estimated real value of property has increased a great deal more than the assessed value. The United States Census Bureau estimated the value of all property in Missouri in 1870 at \$1,027,938,318. In 1912 the figures were \$5,842,017,009. Between 1912 and 1920 the value of all property in the state more than doubled. Therefore, it is safe to say that the real value of the property in the state increased between 1870 and 1920 twelve times or from about one billion to about twelve billion dollars.

Although the progress of Missouri in both social and economic affairs has been remarkable, as a political organization the State has failed to keep pace with her citizens. This is largely because the State has been unfortunate in being hampered by the self-imposed limitations in her constitution of 1875, which is still (1920) the fundamental law of the State. This document limited the State revenue to twenty cents on the hundred dollars assessed valuation, with the added provision that when the assessed valuation of the State should reach \$900,000,000 the rate should not exceed fifteen cents on the hundred dollars valuation. The reasons for these limitations² are easy to find, but that fact does not prevent their being very unfortunate today

The great railroad debt and war debt had made taxation very high between 1865 and 1875. During a part of this ten year period the rate was sixty-two and one-half cents on the hundred dollars valuation. The reaction caused the tax limitation in the constitution of 1875. This lack of revenue after 1875 has caused the development of Missouri along political and institutional lines to be very conservative.

Between 1870 and 1920 a large number of state institutions were established. These included the five state normal schools recently changed to teachers' colleges, the School of

² Concerning this limitation Mr. Shoemaker in his Article on Six Periods of Missouri History says: "This is equivalent to saying, and this is practically what happened in 1892, that when Missouri's assessed wealth was \$899,000,000 her state revenue tax should yield \$1,750,000, but when Missouri's assessed wealth reached \$900,000,000 this tax should be decreased twenty-five per cent or about one-half million dollars. A true illustration would be given if a man were to declare that when his income reached \$2,000 he would reduce it to \$1,500; or if a corporation were to rule that when its business had reached a certain mark, it would curtail its own development."

Mines, at Rolla, Lincoln Institute, three hospitals³ for the insane, two soldiers' homes, a fruit experimental station, a state sanatorium for tubercular patients, and the State Historical Society

Considering the limitations on taxation, which have made it difficult and in many cases impossible to raise sufficient funds for co-operative work, Missouri has made wonderful progress from 1870 to 1920. She has made great advance in elementary education. She has assumed by far the greater part of the burden of higher education. She has established many boards and commissions for gathering information, carrying on inspection and doing other work for the good of her citizens. Thus by 1920 Missouri, in spite of her limited income, has become a great co-operative, modern commonwealth.

³ There are in the State four hospitals for the insane. The one at Fulton was established in 1847 and is one of the oldest institutions of its kind west of the Mississippi.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER I

1. What are the dates of the fourth period of Missouri history?
2. What reasons are there for a possible division of the period into two periods?
3. What are the leading characteristics of the period?
4. What was the approximate assessed valuation in 1870? In 1920?
5. What was the approximate railroad mileage in 1870? In 1920?
6. What was the estimated real value of all the property in Missouri in 1870? In 1912? In 1920?
7. How does the State attempt to do, or supervise, the work of society?
8. Why has the State been handicapped in doing this work?
9. Name the leading State institutions established during the period.
10. Give a brief summary of the progress of Missouri during the period.

CHAPTER II

POLITICAL ANNALS 1870-1920

The Two Phases of the Period. The Democratic party, which practically came into control of the State with the election of Brown in 1870, continued in power until 1904. Only once did that party fail to carry the State, and this was at the election of 1894, when the only officers elected were a judge of the supreme court and the superintendent of public schools. From 1904 to 1920 Missouri was a doubtful State politically. There developed a large independent vote which no party can control. The Liberal-Democratic majority in 1870 was more than 40,000. This majority gradually decreased until it was wiped out at the election of 1904, when the Republicans elected their entire ticket except the candidate for governor.

Since 1904 state officials have usually been elected by a plurality instead of a majority.

Reconstruction Problems 1870-1876. B. Gratz Brown was elected governor in 1870 by Liberal-Republican and Democratic voters upon the issues of reconstruction. Six constitutional amendments had been adopted at the election of 1870. These removed the restrictions on the suffrage and also the other clauses which discriminated against those who had sympathized with the South. Governor Brown in his message to the legislature recommended changing the registration laws so they would conform to the amendments which abolished the test oaths. He also recommended

better railroad regulation, and the immediate calling of a constitutional convention. The legislature amended the registration laws, but refused to submit to the people the proposal for a new constitution.

The success of the Liberal Republican-Democratic combination in Missouri attracted the attention of the entire nation. A convention of Liberal-Republicans was held January 24, 1872 at Jefferson City. The resolutions invited all Republicans who favored a general amnesty to meet in national convention at Cincinnati the first Wednesday in May. This was the origin of the movement which brought into existence the National Liberal-Republican party.

Governor Woodson. The Liberal Republicans and the Democrats called their state conventions for the same day, August 21, at Jefferson City. The two conventions through committees agreed upon a division of the State offices, and nominated a fusion ticket. The Democrats got the better of the bargain. Silas Woodson,¹ a Democrat who had taken no part in the war, was nominated for governor. The entire ticket was elected by a majority of nearly 40,000. Governor Woodson's administration was conservative. He was concerned with the problems of paying off or refunding the state debt.

¹ Silas Woodson was born in Kentucky in 1817. He was admitted to the bar when twenty-one, was elected circuit attorney, and came into prominence by winning a famous case when pitted against the best legal talent of the State. In Kentucky, Woodson was a Clay Whig, but he became a Democrat when he came to Missouri in 1854. He took no active part in the war, but was active in reorganizing the Democratic party after the war. The fact that he had no war record made him an excellent compromise candidate for governor. After his term as governor he was circuit judge for years. He died in 1896.

The election of United States senator attracted considerable attention. General Frank P. Blair had been elected two years before to serve during the unexpired term of Chas. D. Drake, who had resigned. Blair had been very active in the reorganization of the Democratic party after the war, and had risked his life many times in his work for the party. It would seem that the party should have re-elected him to the Senate. But Blair was too positive for the times. The party selected Boggy, a man who had taken no part in the war.

The Liberal-Republican party passed out of existence after the election of 1872. Some of its members returned to the Republican party, but the great majority of them joined the Democratic party.

The Democratic Party in 1874. The Democratic party was now composed of a number of groups of people who differed widely in their past political views. First there were Union Democrats, who had been loyal through the war. These were composed of two distinct groups, those who had been Whigs and those who had before the war been Benton-Democrats. Second, was the ex-Confederates and those who sympathized with them during the war. These men all became Democrats as soon as they were allowed to vote. This group was a large and influential group and frequently controlled the party councils.

Finally, there were those who having been Republicans during the war, had left the party in 1870 as Liberal Republicans, and had finally joined the Democratic party in 1874. This later group was not influential in the party council. With all these various groups in the party it was impossible to nominate a positive man who had stood as a leader in any of these groups.

Governor Hardin. In 1874 the ex-Confederate group made a determined effort to nominate one of their number, F. M. Cockrell, who had been a brigadier general in the Confederate army, but failed. Charles H. Hardin² was nominated by one-sixth of a vote in the convention and was elected by a majority of more than 37,000. Governor Hardin made every effort possible to heal the factional troubles which the State had inherited from the Civil War.

The country was just beginning to recover from the effects of the panic of 1873 when the State suffered from an invasion of grasshoppers from the west. They came first in the late summer of 1874. But the next spring they hatched out in great numbers and destroyed every particle of green vegetation they could reach. In a number of the western counties of the State the crops were entirely destroyed.³

It was during Governor Hardin's administration that the present constitution, which is discussed in a subsequent chapter, was adopted.

² Charles H. Hardin was born in Kentucky in 1820. His father moved to Columbia, Missouri where the boy grew to manhood. His mother was Hannah Jewell, a sister of Dr. William Jewell, the founder of William Jewell College. He began the practice of law at Fulton in 1843. Later he entered politics as a Whig. He served in the State legislature as a representative from Calloway County. In 1860 he was in the State senate. During the Civil War he retired to his farm and took no part in the conflict. After the war he joined the Democratic party as many of the old Whigs did.

Hardin was nominated for governor in 1874 by the small majority of one-sixth of a vote. After his term as governor he retired to private life. He was a member of the Missionary Baptist Church, and gave \$75,000 for founding a Girls' Baptist College at Mexico. The school was called Hardin College in honor of the donor. He died in 1892.

³ A notable incident connected with the grasshopper year was a grasshopper banquet held at the Warrensburg Normal School. Some one suggested that as the grasshoppers had eaten every thing in the way

The Rule of the Civil War Veterans, 1876-1888. By the close of Hardin's administration in 1876 the problems of reconstruction had been solved in both state and nation. The ex-Union and ex-Confederate soldiers had always respected each other; now they could find common grounds for agreement upon the new issues which arose. With these two groups in the Democratic party working in harmony, the day of the moderate man who had been inactive in the Civil War was passed. For the next decade or more the ex-soldier received the preference in politics. Both ex-Confederate and ex-Union soldiers were elected to the highest offices within the gift of the people. Senator F. M. Cockrell, Senator George G. Vest and Governor John S. Marmaduke are notable examples of the former, and Governor John S. Phelps and Governor Thomas T. Crittenden represent the latter.

The first of the soldier group to be elected was Francis M. Cockrell,⁴ who was elected to the senate to succeed Carl Schurz in 1875. Cockrell had been the closest competitor of Hardin for the nomination for governor in 1874. His hearty support of Hardin in the campaign made him the choice of the Democratic caucus for senator. The next Civil War veteran to receive high public office was an ex-Union soldier, General John S. Phelps. The Democrats in 1876 nominated

of vegetation there was but one thing to do and that was to eat the grasshoppers. The banquet was arranged to determine whether or not the grasshopper was edible. The grasshoppers were collected in sacks. Only the hams were used. As an experiment the results were evidently negative as there is no record of any further use of the grasshopper for food.

⁴ Francis M. Cockrell was born in Johnson County, Missouri, October 1, 1834. He was reared on a farm, attended the common schools, and was graduated from Chapel Hill College in 1853. He was admitted to the bar in 1855 and began the practice of law in Warrensburg.

and elected General Phelps⁵ governor. Many of the appointees of Governor Phelps were ex-Confederates. The old Whig element in the party, who had been for the Union but many of whom had taken no part in the war, seems to have been neglected in the distribution of offices. Switzler, editor of "The Statesman," complains that nine-tenths of the best offices were conferred on the "Confederate crowd." In another editorial Switzler refers to those who object to the old Whig element in the Democratic party as "Antebellum, moss-covered Democrats." During Phelps' administration another ex-Confederate, George G. Vest, who had taken a positive stand for secession and had been in the active service of the Confederacy throughout the war, was elected United States senator. The election of Vest was

When the Civil War came Cockrell cast his lot with the South. He rose to the rank of Brigadier General. After the war he was one of the first of the Confederate leaders to declare his allegiance to the United States Government and ask for a pardon.

In 1874 he was elected to the United States Senate where he served thirty years. The Republicans carried the state in 1904 and Cockrell was retired. He was immediately appointed a member of the Panama Canal Commission by President Roosevelt. He served on this commission until his death.

⁵ John S. Phelps was born in Connecticut in 1814, and came to Springfield, Missouri in 1837. He was admitted to the bar in Missouri, and in 1840 was elected to the State legislature. In 1844 he was elected to Congress as a Democrat and served continuously for eighteen years. When the Civil War came, Phelps who sided definitely with the Union, was one of Blair's most able assistants in keeping Missouri in the Union. He raised a regiment which he commanded in the battle of Pea Ridge where he lost nearly one-third of his men. After the Civil War he was active in politics. He ran for office a number of times during the reconstruction period but was always defeated. He was nominated and elected governor in 1876. Like Cockrell, Phelps was a positive man who had fought for his convictions during the Civil War. He died in St. Louis in 1886.

interpreted to mean that the old Whig element in the Democratic party should not prevail.

The currency issue was prominent in the campaign of 1878. The Democratic platform demanded the abolition of the national banking system and the issue of greenbacks in sufficient quantities for the needs of the country. It also demanded the removal of the restrictions on the coinage of silver.

The country recovered rapidly from the effects of the panic of 1873 and the grasshopper years during Governor Phelps' administration. Substantial increases were made in the financial support given to the public schools, the normal schools, and the State University. Railroad construction which had ceased after the panic of 1873 was resumed, and 867 miles were built between 1876 and 1880.

However, serious strikes occurred at St. Louis. More than 3,000 men were under arms at one time guarding against the destruction of property. But quiet was restored without bloodshed.

Governor Crittenden. Another ex-Union soldier, Thomas T. Crittenden,⁶ was nominated and elected governor by the Democratic party in 1880.

The state offices were distributed between ex-Union and ex-Confederate soldiers. There were five of the former and three of the latter. There was but one official elected who

⁶ Thomas T. Crittenden was born in Kentucky in 1832. He was graduated from college in 1855 and soon after moved to Lexington, Missouri. He entered the Union army as lieutenant colonel of the 7th Missouri Cavalry and served until his regiment was mustered out in 1865. Soon after leaving the army he moved to Warrensburg where he practiced law as the partner of F. M. Cockrell. He was elected to Congress in 1872. He served as governor from 1880 to 1884. He died in Kansas City in 1909.

had no war record. The State was prosperous during Crittenden's administration. The State debt was rapidly reduced. The Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad finally paid their \$3,000,000 debt with interest. Railroad building was going forward rapidly. The railroads issued passes freely and extended numerous courtesies to influential men.⁷ The railroad companies undoubtedly expected to receive service in the way of favorable legislation or in the prevention of unfavorable legislation.

John S. Marmaduke. In the election of 1884 the Democratic ticket carried the names of three ex-Confederate soldiers and two ex-Union men. The candidate for governor, John S. Marmaduke,⁸ was an ex-Confederate brigadier general and the last veteran of the Civil War to become governor. A law forbidding pooling on the part of railroads,

⁷ For example, the railroad companies took the members of the State Press Association for an excursion through the Gulf States. One party consisting of 157 persons left Springfield upon the adjournment of the Association, went by rail to St. Louis, then by steamer to New Orleans, and from that city made short excursions by rail to places of interest. They returned in a body to St. Louis and then went to their homes. The trip took about a week. All expenses including hotel bills were borne by the railroad company. Just before starting on the excursion described above, the Press Association voted to have a "called session" six months later for the purpose of accepting the courtesies of the Toledo and Wabash Railroad for an excursion to Put-in-Bay, Wisconsin.

⁸ John S. Marmaduke, the son of Governor M. M. Marmaduke, was born in Saline County, Missouri in 1833. He studied in Yale, but entered West Point in 1853 and was graduated in 1857. He was assigned to duty as a second lieutenant under Colonel Albert Sydney Johnson and served in the campaign against the Mormons. At the outbreak of the Civil War he resigned from the United States army against the advice of his father, and entered the service of the Confederacy. After the war he became a commission merchant in St. Louis. In 1884 he was elected governor and served but three years. He died in office in 1887.

and regulating their traffic was passed during Marmaduke's administration. The legislature of 1887 passed a law known as "the local option law." Under this law a large part of Missouri became dry territory during the last twenty years.

The Rule of the Young Democracy 1888-1904. With the administration of Marmaduke the rule of the war veterans ceased. For a quarter of a century men had been elected to office or rejected because of the position they took upon the public issues in the early sixties. From 1863 to 1870 the Radicals were in power, and no one who was not a radical Union man could be elected to public office. From 1870 to 1876 the best candidate was the man who had taken no part in the war. From 1876 to 1888 few men were chosen to public office who did not have a creditable war record in either the northern or southern army. From 1888 to 1904 the Democratic party still held undisputed possession of the State, but a younger generation of men who had grown to manhood after the Civil War, became the leaders in the party, and the rulers of the state.

Governor Francis. The first of these was David R. Francis,⁹ who was nominated and elected governor by the

⁹ David Rowland Francis was born in Virginia in 1850. He was descended on his mother's side from the Scotch family, Irvine, who were among the leading followers of Robert Bruce in his famous wars with England. He came to Missouri and entered Washington University in 1866, was graduated in 1870 and immediately entered business. When he finished college he was in debt in part for his education, but he was very successful in business and became wealthy. In 1885 Francis was elected mayor of St. Louis on the Democratic ticket, although the Republican party had a normal majority of 14,000. He was very successful in conducting the business of the city and was nominated and elected governor in 1888. In 1896 he was appointed secretary of interior by President Cleveland. He took a leading part in pushing the Louisiana Purchase

Democratic party in 1888. Mr. Francis was a successful business man and successfully applied business methods to the management of the State government. It was through his efforts that the Governor's Mansion was refurnished and made worthy of the State. A law was passed creating a school-book commission and providing for state-wide uniformity in text-books. Through the recommendation and personal arguments of Governor Francis the first Australian ballot law was placed upon the Statute Books of Missouri. During Governor Francis' administration a great many farmers of the State joined an organization known as the "Farmers' Alliance." The farmers were beginning to get restless and urge reforms. This movement took the form of a new party during the next administration.

Governor Stone. In 1872 the Democratic party nominated and elected William Joel Stone¹⁰ governor.

In the Free Silver Movement Missouri again took the lead in an issue of national importance. A Missouri Congressman, Richard P. Bland, of Lebanon, Missouri, pushed a free silver bill through the House of Representatives in

Centennial in 1903 and in 1904 he served as president of the fair and more than any other one person was responsible for its success. Probably the greatest service of Mr. Francis to his country was the service he rendered as ambassador to Russia during the great war. Mr. Francis is still (1920) living and is one of Missouri's most highly respected citizens.

¹⁰ William Joel Stone was born in Kentucky in 1848. He studied for a time at the University of Missouri and read law in the office of his brother-in-law, Col. Taylor. He was admitted to the bar and practiced first at Bedford, Indiana. In 1870 he returned to Missouri and established a law office at Nevada, served two years as prosecuting attorney of Vernon County, served in Congress from 1884 to 1890, and was governor from 1892 to 1896. He then practiced law in St. Louis until he was elected to the senate to succeed Senator Vest in 1903.

1878. The measure was amended in the senate so as to destroy to a large extent the purpose of the act. Bland continued to advocate free silver. In 1893 the whole country experienced a severe financial panic. The general depression caused a great deal of political restlessness. Under these conditions people looked to the political leaders for relief through legislative measures. Bland's remedy was free silver. Under his leadership a reorganization of the Democratic state committee was effected in 1895. The Democratic state convention was called early in 1896 and proposed free silver as the one great issue upon which the campaign should be fought. Bland became Missouri's candidate for the nomination for president. The other states of the South and West followed the leadership of Missouri, and before the National Democratic Convention assembled in Chicago the party was committed to free silver.

But again, as in 1872, a great national party accepted an issue presented by Missouri but refused to nominate Missouri's candidate. Instead of nominating Bland, the logical candidate on the issue of free silver, the convention nominated William J. Bryan. Missouri was loyal to the issue she had presented and gave Bryan a majority of nearly 60,000, the largest majority ever given by the State to a presidential candidate

Governor Stephens. The Democratic Party nominated Lon. V. Stephens in 1896. The Republicans had carried the election of 1894 by a small plurality. A new party known as the People's party had polled a very large vote. The platform of the People's party had advocated many reform measures, one of which was free silver. In 1896 the Democratic party in the State adopted the issue of free

silver and the People's party supported the Democratic ticket. Stephens¹¹ was elected by a plurality of 43,233 votes over Robert E. Lewis, his Republican opponent. The Spanish-American War was fought during Mr. Stephens' administration. The State responded to every call made upon it by the national government. When the protocol which ended the war was signed, military companies organized in every part of the State were anxious to volunteer for service, should the United States make another call for men. The enthusiasm aroused during the Spanish-American War practically put an end to the antagonism created by the Civil War, much of which had continued up to that time. In this respect the war was probably of greater benefit to Missouri than to any other state.

Governor Dockery. At the time of the campaign of 1900 the issue of free silver had ceased to be important. The great political parties found issues in the questions growing out of the Spanish-American War. The more restless and dissatisfied divided into half a dozen small parties each advocating some specific reform. The Democratic party nominated and elected Alexander M. Dockery¹² gover-

¹¹ Lon V. Stephens was born at Boonville, Missouri in 1858, and received his college education in Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia. After graduation from college he entered his father's bank at Boonville. He followed the banking business until he was appointed state treasurer by Governor Francis in 1890, to fill the unexpired term of Treasurer Noland who had become a defaulter. Mr. Stephens was elected treasurer in 1892 for the four year term and was chosen governor in 1896.

¹² Alexander M. Dockery was born in Davies County, Missouri, February 11, 1845. He studied medicine and practiced his profession for a time. In 1874 he became a banker. He was elected to Congress in 1882 and served until 1899. He was governor from 1901 to 1905. After his term as governor expired he continued active in the Democratic party and is at present (1920) assistant Postmaster General.

nor. During Dockery's administration the World's Fair celebrating the Centennial Anniversary of the Purchase of Louisiana was held in St. Louis. The effect of the Exposition upon Missouri can hardly be over-estimated. Thousands of her citizens attended for a week or more and there was probably no community in the State that did not have representatives there. The best of everything that civilization had produced was thus brought to the knowledge of Missourians.

Missouri a Doubtful State 1904-1920. The election of 1904 marks the beginning of a new phase of Missouri politics. From 1904 until 1920 there was no dominant man or group of men. Missouri had always been a solid Democratic state with the exception of the abnormal Civil War and reconstruction period. During the years 1904 to 1920 the State has been a doubtful state with a large number of independent voters. Neither party has been able to dominate the State, nor has any man or group of men been able to control either party continually.

Governor Folk. The Democratic party nominated Joseph W. Folk¹³ in 1904. Folk had made himself popular

¹³ Joseph W. Folk was born in Tennessee, October 28, 1869; studied law at Vanderbilt University and was admitted to the bar in 1890; practiced law two years in Tennessee and then moved to St. Louis in 1892. He began the practice of civil and corporation law, but took an active part in politics and soon became prominent in the councils of the Democratic party. In 1900 the Democrats of St. Louis nominated Folk for city attorney, on a reform platform and elected him. This office gave him the opportunity to prosecute the bribe-takers of the city assembly. He was elected governor in 1904. He was the youngest governor ever elected in Missouri. Mr. Folk has run for office twice since he was governor and has been defeated both times.

by prosecuting a number of St. Louis assembly men for bribery. There was a bitter fight regarding him within the Democratic party, but he was elected by a plurality of 30,100 votes.

Yet in the same election the Republican vote for Roosevelt exceeded the Democratic vote for Parker by 25,187. The Republicans elected the other six State officers. In 1906 the State went Democratic by pluralities varying from 8,600 for Howard A. Gass, Superintendent of Schools, to 14,667 for Rube Oglesby, Railroad and Warehouse Commissioner.

Governor Hadley. In the election of 1908 the Republicans nominated Herbert S. Hadley, and the Democrats, William S. Cowherd. Hadley¹⁴ was elected by a plurality of 15,879 votes, in a total vote of 715,827. The other State offices were divided between the two parties. In the election of 1910 the Republican state ticket was elected by pluralities ranging from 2,240 to 5,429. Governor Hadley's administration was somewhat handicapped by the fact that the legislative branch of the government was Democratic. On any measure which was in the least political the legislature was not likely to follow the governor's recommendations.

¹⁴ Herbert S. Hadley was born in Olathe, Kansas, February 20, 1872. He was educated in Kansas University, Northwestern University, and Chicago Law School. In 1894 he moved to Kansas City to practice law. He was elected prosecuting attorney of Jackson County in 1900, and attorney general of the state in 1904. As attorney general he attracted the attention of the nation by his successful prosecution of the Standard Oil Company. He was the unanimous choice of his party as candidate for governor in 1908. He was elected. After his term as governor he again took up the practice of law.

Governor Major. The Republican party split into two factions in 1912. These factions both nominated complete state tickets and the Democrats easily elected their entire state ticket by pluralities ranging around 120,000. Wilson's plurality over Taft was 124,371 but the combined vote for Taft and Roosevelt exceeded that of Wilson by 1,446.

The Democrats nominated and elected Elliot W. Major¹⁵ governor. During Governor Major's administration the legislature was so overwhelmingly Democratic that he had no trouble in getting his recommendations carried out. The outstanding feature of his administration is the progressive school legislation that was passed.

Governor Gardner. In 1916 the Democrats nominated Frederick D. Gardner.¹⁶ He was elected over Judge Lamb, his Republican opponent, by a plurality of 2,263. Hackman, the Republican candidate for state auditor, was elected by a plurality of 9,080 votes. The other Democratic candidates for the State offices were elected. The outstanding feature

¹⁵ Elliot W. Major was born in Lincoln County, Missouri; studied law in the office of Champ Clark, one of Missouri's most distinguished representatives in Congress. Mr. Major began the practice of law at Bowling Green, Missouri. He was a candidate for attorney general in 1904, but was defeated by Hadley. He was elected to that office in 1908, and elected governor in 1912. After retiring from the governor's office in 1916, he moved to St. Louis and resumed the practice of law.

¹⁶ Frederick D. Gardner was born in Kentucky, November 6, 1869. He came to St. Louis in 1886 at the age of seventeen and found employment in business. He soon engaged in business for himself, and was very successful. He became interested in the farmer. The fact that the farmer with land, the best security in existence, was compelled to pay interest rates higher than the business men of the cities seemed unfair. He proposed a Farmer's Land Bank. This attracted such attention that Mr. Gardner was nominated and elected Governor although he had never held office before.

of Governor Gardner's administration is the financial legislation enacted. Governor Gardner found the State in debt nearly \$2,000,000. He recommended a number of new revenue measures, most of which were passed by the legislature. The State is now (1920) out of debt, except such debts as are provided for in connection with the building of the new capitol, and there is a surplus of money in the treasury. Missouri's part in the great war will be discussed in a separate chapter.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER II

1. What was the political situation in Missouri from 1870 to 1904? From 1904 to 1920?
2. Upon what issues was Brown elected governor in 1870?
3. What recommendations did Brown make in his message?
4. How was the National Liberal-Republican party started?
5. What did the Liberal-Republicans in Missouri do in 1872?
6. Give a sketch of the life of Governor Woodson. What was his war record?
7. Why was Frank Blair not re-elected to the Senate in 1873? Who was elected? How did his war record compare with that of Blair?
8. What became of the Liberal-Republican party after 1872?
9. Of what groups was the Democratic party composed in 1874?
10. What two groups controlled the Democratic party from 1876 to 1888?
11. Who was the first ex-war veteran to receive an important office?
12. What was the war record of Governor Phelps?
13. What complaint was made concerning his appointments? By whom? Why?
14. What was the prominent issue in the campaign of 1878?
15. How many miles of railroad were built during Governor Phelps' administration?
16. What kind of men made up the ticket in 1880? What was the war record of the candidate for governor?
17. How did the railroads attempt to influence the action of the State government during the later seventies and eighties?
18. What was Governor Marmaduke's war record? How many ex-soldiers were on the ticket in 1884?

19. What class of men managed the affairs of the State after 1888?
20. Give a sketch of the life of John S. Phelps, Thomas T. Crittenden and John S. Marmaduke.
21. Name some things accomplished during the administration of Governor Francis.
22. How did Missouri take the lead in a national question during the administration of Governor Stone?
23. What was Bryan's majority in Missouri in 1896?
24. How did Missouri respond to the needs of the government during the Spanish-American War?
25. How did the war affect Missouri?
26. What new issues were there in the campaign of 1900?
27. What was the big event of Governor Dockery's administration? How did it affect Missouri?
28. Give a sketch of the life of David R. Francis, William Joel Stone, Lon V. Stephens, and Alexander M. Dockery.
29. What noticeable political change took place in Missouri about 1904?
30. What party was successful in the election of 1904? 1906? 1910?
31. What per cent was Taft's plurality of the total vote cast in 1908?
32. Why were the Democratic candidates elected by such large pluralities in 1912?
33. What was the outstanding feature of Governor Major's administration?
34. What has been the chief accomplishment of Governor Gardner's administration?
35. Give a sketch of the life of Joseph W. Folk, Herbert S. Hadley, Elliot W. Major, and Frederick D. Gardner.

CHAPTER III

THE CONSTITUTION OF 1875-1920

The Resolution Calling a Convention. Although the most objectionable features of the Drake Constitution had been removed by the six amendments that had been adopted in 1870, the very name was distasteful to the Democratic party, which came into full control of the State government in 1872.

The legislature of 1874 submitted to a vote of the people a resolution calling a constitutional convention. The resolution was submitted at the general election in November, 1874. The people cast 130,977 votes in favor of calling a convention and 130,694 votes against the proposition. Thus the majority for the convention was only 283, of a total vote of 261,670.

The Delegates. Governor Hardin called an election for January 26 to choose delegates to the convention. The resolution provided for sixty-eight delegates. The Democrats secured sixty, the Republicans six, and the Liberals two. The Democratic majority was so large that it had no difficulty in controlling every act of the convention.

Many of the men who sat in the convention has been disfranchised by the "Drake Constitution." Possibly they or their friends had been prevented from teaching, preaching or practicing law. It is possible that some of them had been

brought before one of the many district courts and thrown into jail for violating the law by practicing their profession. Most of the delegates had been active in politics before the Civil War under the constitution of 1820. They naturally based their work on that constitution. Many sections are exact copies of sections of the constitution of 1820.

Background of Our Constitution. In order to understand our constitution it is necessary to understand the conditions under which the men who wrote it had been living. There were two important movements of the decade immediately preceding 1875 which very greatly influenced the members of the constitutional convention. The first was the radical movement in politics. The Radicals had prohibited every one who had served the Confederate cause or sympathized with it from voting, or practicing any profession. In order to enforce these laws they had created a large number of courts and given them very great powers.

The courts had used the powers given them by the Radical legislature to the great disadvantage of that element of the population which controlled the convention.

The second movement was that of railroad building. Soon after the war there came a great boom in railroad building. Every community wanted a railroad. Counties, cities and townships were willing to bond themselves to secure a railroad. Under the "Drake Constitution" the city councils, and county courts in the cities and counties had very great power. These bodies aided the railroads in legalizing bond issues. At first they were undoubtedly doing what a large majority of the people wished them to do. But many fraudulent companies were organized. Bonds were procured and the roads were never built. The people

were defrauded in that way to the extent of millions of dollars. A number of these frauds had been exposed just a year or two before the meeting of the convention. The people were very bitterly opposed just at that time to issuing bonds. The bond¹ was considered bad because it had been the instrument used in stealing the people's money. These two things, the abuses of the courts and the fraudulent use of bonds, greatly influenced the action of the constitutional convention.

The Limitations on the Courts. The "bill of rights" in the constitution is very long. It safeguards the individual to such an extent that it becomes a very great limitation on the courts. The article on the judiciary is also very extensive. So many safeguards are thrown about a person accused of a crime that it has become difficult for our courts to convict any one. Especially is this true if the accused person is able to employ legal talent sufficient to obtain the full advantage of all these limitations.

¹ The bond is simply a note of a corporation made for the purpose of raising money to do some important work. Usually the work is some kind of a permanent improvement. There is no instrument that has done more to make possible human progress in the great material improvements than the bond. Any great co-operative work like building roads, schools, great railroad systems, etc., would be impossible without the bond. Bonds are a great benefit to any people provided the object for which they are to be issued is a worthy one and will benefit the community or group issuing them, and second, provided the money raised by issuing the bonds be honestly expended for the purpose for which they were issued. It was the second condition that was violated in the case of the railroad bonds issued in the reconstruction period of Missouri. The money was not honestly expended for the purpose for which the bonds were issued. Because of that, the people of Missouri became prejudiced against bonds and at the present time they rarely vote bonds. This prejudice against bonds has been a great handicap upon the material progress of the State.

The effect of these limitations has become very evident in the slow procedure of our courts, and in the way our supreme court gets behind with its work in spite of the fact that the number of judges and the number of courts of appeal have been increased.

Limitation on the Legislature. The men who wrote the constitution seemed to have little faith in representative legislatures. They limited the sessions to seventy days in each two year period. They took away entirely the power given by both of Missouri's previous constitutions to establish courts. They prohibited the legislature from imposing a debt of more than \$250,000 in any one year.

The amount of taxes which the legislature might impose was also carefully limited. Not more than twenty cents on the hundred dollars valuation was allowed, and after the valuation of the State reached \$900,000,000 not more than fifteen cents on the hundred dollars valuation could be levied. The valuation passed the \$900,000,000 mark in 1892.

Rate of Taxation. The rate of taxation had been excessively high during the reconstruction period. The rate of State taxation had reached more than sixty cents on the hundred dollars valuation and the rate had frequently been very high in counties, townships, cities, and school districts. These high taxes had been exceedingly oppressive to the aristocratic class who had owned slaves and large tracts of land. They had lost their slaves during the war and many of them lost their land or much of it after the war because they could not pay the high taxes. It was this aristocratic class that was now in control of the constitutional convention.

They wrote into the constitution some very drastic limitations on taxation. They limited the amount of taxes that might be levied by a county court, a city council, or a board of education in a school district. They did not even trust the people in matters of taxation. A limit for school purposes of sixty-five cents on the hundred dollars valuation in rural districts and one hundred cents on the hundred dollars valuation in city districts was provided. People cannot even by a unanimous vote legally tax themselves beyond these limits. On all questions of taxation a property qualification is attached to the qualifications of a voter. He must be a tax payer.

The Bond. The bond as a means of raising money had been discredited because of the fraudulent railroad bonds. The writers of the constitution provided that school districts, cities, counties and the State might issue bonds. But two-thirds of the voters at any election on a bond issue must favor the bonds before they can be issued. Even by a two-thirds vote² the amount of bonds that can be issued is limited to a certain percent of the assessed value of the property. All persons voting at an election on a bond issue must be taxpayers.

²The fundamental principle of democracy is "majority rule." If democracy means anything, it means this. But the authors of our constitution forgot their democracy in their eagerness to prevent for all future time such frauds as had been practiced upon the people through their county courts under the previous constitution. This provision has caused much embarrassment to school districts in recent years. The legislature has enacted a law whereby a consolidated school district may be formed by a majority vote. Many such districts have been formed, but in some cases when attempts have been made to vote bonds to build school-houses, they have failed to get the necessary two-thirds. In such cases the district continues to exist but cannot build a school-house.

The Constitution. The constitution as a whole suited the age in which it was written. Missouri at that time was a rural state. There were few cities in the State. There were no electric lights, no electric street cars, no telephones, no automobiles. None of these things had ever been heard of. There were few high schools. Practically all secondary education was done in private schools. There was no need of the public's raising money for high schools, for good roads for automobiles, for municipal light plants, or for many other objects that can now be done best by the co-operative effort of all the people through some governmental unit such as the city or school district. The limits set for taxation and bond issues did not, at the time of the adoption of the constitution, handicap the citizens of the State because they did not need to do the things that the present generation needs to do. But under modern conditions of life, many of the limitations in the constitution have become handicaps to the progress of the State. The limitations on taxation and bond issues have become more noticeable because the ratio of the assessed value of property to the real value has continually decreased; although values have increased, there has been a tendency to allow assessed values to remain stationary, or nearly so. In 1870 the assessed value was about one-half of the real value as estimated by the United States government. The ratio at the present time (1920) is about one-sixth.

Amendments. As the State has become modern, many efforts have been made to amend the constitution so that it would better suit modern conditions. It was nine years after the constitution was adopted before the first amendment was added, and only three amendments had been

adopted up to 1900. But the general social and industrial changes which took place about 1900 caused many efforts to be made to amend the constitution. Eighty-five amendments have been submitted (before 1920), and twenty-three of them have been adopted.

Conclusion. The constitution as originally written was a long document. It contained about 25,000 words. The twenty-three amendments that have been added make the document so long that it is not usually published in our text books. Few of our citizens have ever seen a copy of it and fewer still could get a copy without making considerable effort.

A large element of our population is working for a new constitution. Many co-operative voluntary organizations are urging the legislature to submit a resolution calling a constitutional convention. Both the Democratic and Republican platforms have endorsed the movement. On the other hand there is a conservative element in the State that opposes change.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER III

1. Why was there a demand for a new constitution in 1874?
2. What was the vote on calling a constitutional convention?
3. How many delegates were there in the convention? How many belonged to the Democratic party?
4. What two movements of the previous decade influenced the convention?
5. How were the courts limited? What was the effect?
6. How was the legislature limited?
7. How are the people themselves limited so far as taxation is concerned?
8. What is a bond? What is the difference between a note and a bond?
How are bonds useful?
9. What precaution should be taken when the public uses the bond?

10. What vote is required to legalize any bond issue?
11. Name some of the ways in which the Missouri of 1875 differed from Missouri of to-day.
12. How long is the constitution?
13. How many amendments have been proposed? How many adopted?

CHAPTER IV

CO-OPERATIVE WORK THROUGH THE STATE

Co-operation. Man has been called a social animal. No person can live without the aid of other persons. Even savages help one another. Civilization has developed through the co-operation of people in doing the work that was considered necessary or best to do. At first people learned to work together in the family group. But it was found that certain things could be done better by a larger group. Families who were related naturally did these things working together, and the tribe came into existence. Some people, like the Indians, still hold to tribal organization based upon blood relationship. But it was found that unrelated people living close together could work together advantageously doing many things.

People moved to some place that was well suited for doing a special kind of work,¹ and cities came into existence. People later learned that some kinds of work like defense against enemies, keeping order, and punishing evil doers could best be done by larger units than cities, and states came into existence. The State as an organization extends over large areas of territory and includes many cities within its boundaries.

¹ At first the co-operative work that caused a city to be formed was the work of defense against an enemy. For this reason people usually moved to a hill. They later gathered in places where such co-operative work as commerce or manufacturing could best be carried on.

One hundred years ago when Missouri became a state, the work which a state usually did was limited. Provision was made for the ownership and protection of private property, for keeping order, and for punishing crime. Permission was granted to groups of citizens to organize to do certain kinds of work² and provision was made to raise revenue to pay officers.

State Institutions. When a state undertakes to do a special kind of work, it frequently creates an institution to do that work. For example, there are criminals who are a menace to society, and yet their crimes are not serious enough to justify the state in putting them to death. The state has built a place to keep these dangerous characters. This place is a state institution. We call it the penitentiary. Before the beginning of our period, 1870, the State had created but five state institutions. They were as follows: The Penitentiary, 1833; the State University, 1839; the State Hospital No. 1 for the Insane, 1847; School for the Deaf, 1851; School for the Blind, 1851. The State University did not receive state appropriations until a few years before 1870. One of the leading characteristics of the period 1870 to 1920 is the fact that the State has undertaken to do much of the work that we can all do working together better than can any smaller group or any individual.

In order to do this co-operative work the State has created a number of institutions and has increased the support of those it had created before 1870. There are now twenty-one of these institutions. Sixteen of them have been created since 1870. These State institutions may be classified as educational, eleemosynary, and penal.

² This permission is called a charter, and the organization receiving a charter is called a corporation.

Educational Institutions. About the time Missouri began to recover from the effects of the Civil War the people began to realize more than ever before the importance of education in a democratic state. The State had organized an elementary school system in 1835, and by 1870 about one-half of the children of school age were enrolled in the public schools.

The people began to see that if we were to have good schools, we must train teachers, and that all the people working together through their State government could train teachers and provide higher education of other kinds cheaper and better than private individuals or groups of private individuals could do it.

The State legislature began to appropriate money for the support of the State University in 1867.³ A department for training teachers, now called the School of Education, was opened in 1868. Other schools have been added until the University now consists of ten colleges and schools. One of the colleges of the University, the School of Mines and Metallurgy, was created in 1870 and located at Rolla, Missouri.

The first normal school was created in 1870. Since that time four other normal schools have been created. The legislature changed the names of these institutions from normal schools to teachers' colleges in 1919 and authorized them to grant degrees upon the completion of a full four year college course. These teachers' colleges had a total enrollment of 7,522 students during the school year 1916-1917. The total number of students enrolled in all the teach-

³ The first appropriation was \$10,000.

ers' colleges from 1870 to 1918 is 144,771.⁴ The State also provides an institution known as Lincoln Institute for the training of colored teachers.

The people of the State co-operating through their state government spend nearly \$4,000,000 annually for library books, laboratory apparatus, general equipment and teachers' salaries in these institutions of higher learning. This does not include the work the State is doing in elementary and high school education.

Eleemosynary Institutions. Even before 1870 the people of Missouri had recognized the duty of the State toward its its citizens who are unfortunate. A hospital for the insane

⁴ The total enrollment and the enrollment from 1907 to 1917 inclusive is as follows:

		Total enrollment	Enrollment 1907-1917
N.E.M.S.T.C.....	Kirksville 1871-1917	41,800	18,896
C.M.S.T.C.....	Warrensburg 1871-1917	51,120	24,463
S.E.M.S.T.C.....	Cape Girardeau 1873-1917	24,101	12,024
N.W.M.S.T.C.....	Maryville 1906-1917	8,523	7,703
S.W.M.S.T.C.....	Springfield 1906-1917	19,227	18,262
Total.....	144,771	91,348
Lincoln Institute....	... 1876-1917	8,000	4,917
Grand total.....	teachers enrolled	152,771	96,265

Because the data is not accessible the above table does not include the enrollment of the School of Education of the University of Missouri.

had been established in 1847, and a school for the deaf and one for the blind had been founded in the early fifties.

Between 1870 and 1920 three more hospitals for the insane, a sanatorium for the treatment of tuberculosis, a colony for the feeble minded, a Confederate soldiers' home, and a Federal soldiers' home have been established. Each of these institutions is doing valuable work in aiding and taking care of unfortunate citizens of the State. Much of this work could not be done, and none of it could be done so well, except by the co-operative efforts of the people of the State through these state institutions.⁵

Penal Institutions. The State has four penal institutions: the State Penitentiary at Jefferson City; the Reform School for Boys at Boonville; the Industrial Home for Girls at Chillicothe; and the Industrial Home for Negro Girls at Tipton. All of these institutions, except the penitentiary, have been established within the last period of Missouri

⁵ These eleemosynary institutions are as follows:

	Inmates 1918	Total Inmates
State Hospital No. 1—Fulton.....	1,328	1847-1918..... 12,107
State Hospital No. 2—St. Joseph..	1,738	1874-1918..... 12,163
State Hospital No. 3—Nevada....	1,312	1887-1918..... 8,257
State Hospital No. 4—Farmington	769	1903-1918..... 2,855
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Total Number of Patients.....	5,147	35,382
Confederate Soldiers' Home, Hig-		
ginsville.....	298	1888-1918..... 900
Federal Soldiers' Home, St. James..	266	1897-1918..... 1,503
School for the Deaf, Fulton.....	282	1851-1918..... 2,357
School for the Blind, St. Louis....	125	1851-1918..... 1,346
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Total number cared for by state		
1918.....	6,178	41,488

history. These institutions have a double purpose. First, they furnish a place where dangerous and unruly persons may be kept. Second, it is the intention of the law that persons sent to these institutions shall be reformed if possible. The second purpose is the more important for the institutions which keep boys and girls. All of the penal institutions do work that is very important to society, work which could hardly be done at all except through state institutions.⁶

State Boards and Commissions. In addition to the work done by the State through the State institutions a great deal of work is done by the State through boards and commissions. There are more than forty of these boards and commissions. They are of various kinds and do a great variety of work.

They range all the way from boards like the State Board of Embalming, which has no appropriation, is not required to have regular meetings, and is dependent upon fees for all expenses, to such boards as the Public Service Commission, which received an appropriation of \$266,200 for the biennial period of 1917 and 1918, and whose members receive a higher salary than the governor of the State. Only a few of the most important can be described.

⁶ The number of inmates in the penal institutions of the State from their founding to the present time is as follows:

Penitentiary.....	1917—2,643	1833-1918.....	44,611
Boys' Reform School.....	1918— 499	1889-1918.....	6,942
Industrial Home for Girls. .	1918— 235	1889-1918.....	1,378
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Total for penal institutions.....		3,377	52,931

The Industrial Home for Negro Girls was opened recently. One hundred and fourteen girls have been committed to the home.

Missouri State Board of Health. The State Board of Health was established in 1883. The law gave it advisory power, but no power to enforce health regulations. A law was passed in 1889 making it the duty of the State board to examine and license all practicing physicians. In 1901 the Medical Practice Act was amended so that it required all applicants for license to show evidence of having had a four year college course in medicine, and to pass a written examination. This act also gave the Board of Health power to revoke a physician's license for unprofessional and dishonorable conduct. From 1889 to 1920, 18,787 physicians have been registered.

In 1909 a law was passed requiring all births and deaths in the State to be reported and registered with the State Board of Health. For the nine years the law has been in force there has been an average of 70,600 births and 43,500 deaths annually. These reports are compiled and form permanent records. They are of value as an index to public health work, for they show the births and deaths by race, sex, nationality and occupation of parents and of the deceased. They are of value in establishing age, citizenship, and legal claims for inheritance rights.^{7&8.}

In 1919 additional laws were passed making it the duty of the State Board of Health to make and enforce rules for the prevention and control of communicable diseases. These rules supersede all local rules, except in cities where the population is 75,000 or more. The Department of Health has since 1909 consisted of the Bureau of License, the Bureau of Vital Statistics and the Bureau of Labora-

⁷ Table showing births and deaths and excess of births over deaths for the years 1911-1919 inclusive follows.

tories. The act of 1919 provides for bureaus of Communicable Diseases, Child Hygiene and Venereal Diseases. The act also provides for the appointment of a State health commissioner.

Year	Births	Rate per 1,000	Deaths	Rate per 1,000	Excess of births over deaths
1911	74,130	22.5	43,479	13.2	30,651
1912	75,452	22.91	42,139	12.7	33,313
1913	75,231	22.81	42,130	12.8	33,101
1914	73,925	22.44	41,743	12.6	32,182
1915	71,543	21.07	40,863	12.4	30,680
1916	73,486	22.31	44,705	13.6	28,781
1917	67,041	20.03	45,564	13.8	21,447
1918	64,001	19.43	51,925	15.8	12,076
1919	61,193	18.05	39,282	11.9	21,911

⁸ The following table shows the number of deaths each year from eight causes which have been most fatal to the people of the state.

Cause	1911	1912	1913	1914	1915	1916	1917	1918	1919
Diseases of heart and circulatory system.	4,996	5,612	5,151	4,380	4,795	5,277	6,010	5,680	5,719
Pneumonia.	4,401	4,980	4,070	4,472	4,865	5,614	6,779	7,337	4,271
Tuberculosis of lungs	4,523	4,201	4,208	4,326	4,454	4,345	4,367	4,145	3,207
Diseases of the ner- vous system.	3,304	3,005	2,842	3,666	3,913	4,015	4,168	4,037	3,821
Cancer.	1,977	2,158	2,279	2,229	2,170	2,417	2,420	2,302	2,375
Accidents.	2,196	2,426	2,313	2,095	1,909	2,320	2,042	1,890	1,491
Diarrhoea—infants under 2 years of age	2,095	1,704	1,813	1,912	1,198	1,525	1,560	1,099	930
Typhoid fever.	1,042	780	845	761	481	599	622	530	375
Influenza.	674	433	434	254	485	826	390	9,677	3,531

Under the division of communicable diseases there has been appointed for each county a health officer, who is called a deputy state commissioner of health. It is his duty to receive and transmit to the State department reports of all cases of communicable diseases, to establish and release quarantine and to promote public health activity within his county.

The division of Child Hygiene was organized in December, 1919, through the assistance of the United States Public Health Service. Various statewide voluntary organizations have been co-operating with the State board. The work so far undertaken is field investigation to insure birth registrations, sanitary conditions in home and school environments, to insure proper nourishment of children, to promote infant welfare and to reduce infant mortality.

Hygiene has been introduced into the schools. The height and weight of students have been recorded and physical examinations given.⁹

⁹ In view of the facts revealed by the physical examination of our men who entered the military service, the State Board of Health becomes one of the most important agencies of our state government. A large per cent of our young men were found unfit for military service because of physical disability. For the most part these defects could easily have been prevented. If we as a people are to profit by these facts learned because of the war we must prevent such physical disabilities in the future. This work, if it is to be done at all, must largely be done through the State Board of Health.

The appropriation for carrying on the work of the board for the biennial period of 1919 and 1920 was only \$20,000. The board had asked the legislature for \$281,000. There is no work in which co-operation is more essential than in the work of disease prevention. If we are to accomplish results, we must work together. The State Board of Health is the legally constituted body to direct our work against unsanitary conditions and disease. But it cannot do the work unless the necessary funds are provided.

State Board of Agriculture. The State Board of Agriculture was created by law March 13, 1865. It is composed of sixteen appointive members who serve without pay, and three ex-officio members. The ex-officio members are the governor, the State superintendent of schools and the dean of the College of Agriculture. The offices of the board occupy nine rooms on the second floor of the new capitol building, just across the aisle north of the senate chamber. The appropriation for the use of the State Board of Agriculture for the biennial period of 1917 and 1918 was \$153,540.

The duties of the board have increased rapidly in the last few years. A veterinarian and more than two hundred deputies are engaged in the work of controlling diseases of live stock. The board directs the work of the State dairy commissioner, the farmers' institute work, and apiary inspection. It issues monthly farm bulletins, monthly crop reports, a year book and farm statistics. It manages the agricultural publicity bureau, administers the new commercial mixed feed inspection law, and controls the labeling and proper sale of millions of dollars worth of mixed feed in the State. Two of the most important duties of the board are the control of hog cholera and bovine tuberculosis.

The Missouri State Fair is in charge of the State Board of Agriculture. The State Fair, held at Sedalia, is a big institution, has a million dollars worth of property, and is of great value in educating our citizenship to the possibilities of Missouri as a leading live stock and agricultural state.

The State Tax Commission. An act of the State legislature approved April 9, 1917, created the State Tax Commission. The first specified duty of the commission is "to exercise general supervision over all the assessing officers of

the State, and to take such measures as will secure the enforcement of all revenue and taxation laws." Following this provision of the law, the tax commission made an effort to secure the assessment of property at its full value. It reported for the year 1917 to the State Board of Equalization a valuation of \$4,017,896,413¹⁰ for the property of the State.

Another important duty assigned by law to the tax commission is the preparation of the budget, or report to the legislature. The law requires the commission to study the work of administrative officials with a view to recommending legislation that will eliminate overlapping service, to familiarize itself with all the sources of income provided by law for the State, and to inform itself concerning the expenditure of the public funds.

In complying with this section of the law the commission visits the various State institutions and the offices of all State departments, boards and commissions, inquires into the expenditures and the work accomplished, especially in the last biennial period, and makes an estimate of the needs for the next two-year period. This estimate which is called the "State Budget" must be submitted to the General Assembly during the first thirty days of its session. The appropriation for the work of the State Tax Commission for 1917 and 1918 was \$60,000.

The Public Service Commission. At the beginning of our period, 1870, there were very few public utilities. That was before the use of electric street cars, electric lights, or

¹⁰ This valuation was exclusive of railroads and other public utilities. It was greatly reduced by the State Board of Equalization, which in accordance with the constitution passes final judgment upon valuation of property in the State.

telephones, and there were few cities that had water works. As public utilities developed it became necessary, in order to protect the public, to exercise control over the companies owning the various utilities. At first this control was exercised by the various cities through the ordinary courts or through special city commissions which the State had authorized. But city regulation was found unsatisfactory and expensive. Cities could not regulate the service and rates of railroad companies, express companies, and telegraph and long distance telephone companies.

The legislature in 1913 repealed the act conferring regulating power on cities and created the State Public Service Commission. This commission was given power to regulate the service and rates of all public utilities operating in the state. No public service corporation may now issue stocks, bonds, or securities without an order of the commission. The work of the commission has been very heavy. Hundreds of cases have been investigated and decisions rendered

The increase in prices of labor and material has caused a great many requests of public utility corporations for permission to raise rates. These have been heard and decided by the commission in accordance with the facts as shown by investigation. The commission consists of five members appointed by the governor. Each of them receives a salary of \$5,500. The commission employs a great many assistants.¹¹ The biennial appropriation for

¹¹ The working force is divided into five departments as follows: the legal department, which attends to the court review proceedings in which the commission is involved; the railroad department, which has charge of all questions of rates over steam lines; the engineering department, which appraises the property of public utilities; and the accounting department which audits the books and records of public utility corporations. The fifth department handles the cases of companies which furnish gas, electricity, heat and water.

1917 and 1918 was \$266,200, but the commission collects fees which are turned into the State treasury. These materially reduce the amount which the state expends for the support of the commission.

The State Highway Board. The State Highway Board was provided for by the Hawes Road Law which was approved March 13, 1917. The board consists of four members appointed by the governor. It selects the highway engineer, and he may be discharged by them at any time. The principal duty of the highway engineer is to co-operate with the county road authorities in locating State highways and supervising in a general way the road construction in the State.¹²

Land Reclamation Department. This department was created by law in 1913. It is costing the State about \$6,000 a year. The object of the law is to stimulate and guide efforts to drain and improve swamp lands and lands subject to overflow. Land worth practically nothing is frequently transformed into land worth a hundred dollars an acre or more by the creation and maintenance of a drainage district. The cost of construction and maintenance of drainage ditches is borne by the properties benefited. The chief work of the department is to furnish information concerning drainage companies.

The State Historical Society. The State Historical Society of Missouri was organized by the Missouri Press Association, May 26, 1898. It was incorporated in 1899 and made the official historical society for the State by act of the General Assembly. The purpose of the society is to

¹² For information concerning co-operation between the State and the United States see the Smith-Lever Act.

collect and preserve the history of Missouri and the Middle West and to make this history accessible to Missourians.

More than six hundred newspapers are received, preserved and bound by the society. The society has in its library 10,500 bound volumes of Missouri newspapers and 200,000 books and pamphlets.

The society has served the State by building up the largest and most valuable library on Missouri history in existence. It has also served the citizens of the State by making this collection of historical material accessible. The society publishes a quarterly magazine which is free to all members. It keeps the library open to all persons throughout the year. It answers many questions on the history of the State for which no charge is made. This correspondence totals over 5,000 letters a year.

The society lends to any reputable citizen of the State such of its books as can be replaced. These are sent by insured express at the borrower's risk and expense. The society also lends its service and advice to hundreds of local clubs and patriotic chapters over the State in their efforts to popularize Missouri history. The library of the society is located at Columbia, and is housed in a new fire proof library building.

The State Capitol Commission Board. The capitol of Missouri was struck by lightning and burned February 5, 1911. The legislature which was in session at the time submitted to the people a proposition to issue \$3,500,000 in bonds to build and furnish a new State capitol. The legislature also passed an act giving the Permanent Seat of Government Board power to appoint a State Capitol Commission of four members, two from each of the leading political par-

ties. E. W. Stephens of Columbia, Theo. Lacaff of Nevada, A. A. Speer of Charmois, and J. C. S. Hiller of Glenco, were appointed.

The commission met and organized by electing E. W. Stephens chairman, A. A. Speer vice-chairman, and J. Kelley Poole of Centralia, secretary. This commission succeeded in building one of the best capitol buildings in the United States with the \$3,500,000 which the people had voted for that purpose. The building compares favorably with capitol buildings in eastern states that cost millions more. One thing that should be gratifying to every Missourian is the fact that the capitol was completed without even a suspicion of graft or dishonesty on the part of any one connected with the work. That is an unusual record in the construction of state capitols. Every Missourian should be proud of our new State Capitol.

Missouri a Modern State. The preceding brief outline of the work done by a few of the forty-three miscellaneous boards and commissions that are a part of the State government will give the reader some idea of the vast amount of work done by the state of Missouri. In addition to the work done by the twenty-one state institutions and the forty-three boards and commissions, there are five great departments of state. The secretary of state, the state treasurer, the state auditor, the attorney general and the superintendent of public schools are the heads of these five great departments. As the State has become modern the work of each of these departments has increased rapidly. The legislature has given all of them assistants and clerks and yet it is difficult for them to keep up with the expanding work of this modern State.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER IV

1. How has civilization developed?
2. Trace the development of the state through co-operative working groups.
3. What caused cities to be built?
4. What were some of the things a state was supposed to do when Missouri became a state?
5. What state institutions had been created before 1870?
6. How many state institutions are there?
7. What three classes of state institutions are there?
8. How many normal schools were created?
9. What are the teacher's training institutions now called?
10. Name the eleemosynary institutions.
11. Name the four penal institutions.
12. What are some of the duties of the State Board of Health?
13. What disease has caused the death of the greatest number of people in Missouri in the last nine years?
14. What are the duties of the deputy health commissioner?
15. Why is the work of the State Board of Health important?
16. What are the duties of the State Board of Agriculture?
17. Where is the home of the State Board of Agriculture?
18. Name two duties of the State Tax Commission.
19. When was the Public Service Commission created? What are some of its duties?
20. What is the purpose of the State Historical Society?
21. How many great departments of state are there?

CHAPTER V

CO-OPERATIVE WORK OF VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

When men first learned to work together, the work was voluntary. Later when large groups such as tribes, cities and states were developed to do certain kinds of work which nearly every one agreed should be done by the whole group, the few who did not agree were compelled to do their part.

As soon as the majority of the people of a state believe that a certain kind of work should be done by the co-operation of all, it becomes the work of the state, and every one is compelled to do his part.

Thus every one agrees that the common defense is the work of the state, and every one who is able is compelled to go to war if it is necessary. As we have developed modern life, and use telephones, electricity, motor cars and many other things to enable us to do things quicker and better, we are finding more and more work that can be done better by groups working together than by individuals working alone. But there is much community work which has not yet been recognized as work the state should do. This kind of work is often done by volunteer organizations.

Corporations. We need ice in summer time, but we cannot all make the ice we need. Some people volunteer to form an organization to do the work of making ice. They apply to the state and get a charter—that is, the group is

granted permission to do business as an individual. They build an ice plant and manufacture ice. The rest of us buy the ice they make—we thereby pay them for doing the work we want done, but which this organization can do better and cheaper than we can do it.

There were corporations before 1870, the beginning of our period, but there were not many. Many kinds of work that were then done by individuals are now done by corporations. The increase in the number and size of corporations is one of the characteristics of the period.

Other Volunteer Organizations. But a great number of volunteer organizations have been formed for doing work for which no direct pay is received as in the case of industrial corporations. People working at the same kind of work often form voluntary organizations for mutual benefit.

There is a great variety of these voluntary organizations. Many of them are local; others are state-wide. Many are temporary; others are permanent. Their purposes are as varied as the organizations themselves and range all the way from industrial corporations to charitable organizations.

In case there is need for a great effort on the part of a people, the voluntary organizations multiply. In the Great War we formed voluntary township, city, county, and state organizations to sell bonds, collect money, or do anything that was necessary to win the war. The increase in the number of voluntary organizations and the great amount of work done by them is a noticeable feature of the last period of Missouri history.

Often state-wide voluntary associations influence the state government and get it to undertake the work, or a part of the work, which the organization wants done. Often

state boards, commissions or departments are created in that way. In cases of that kind the state and the voluntary organization co-operate in the work to be done.

A number of state-wide voluntary associations were formed in the later part of the third period of Missouri history. Among these were the State Agricultural Association, the State Teachers' Association, the State Medical Association, and others of a like nature.

The State Teachers' Association. The Missouri State Teachers' Association was organized in St. Louis, May 21, 1856. At this first session the establishment of state normal schools was the chief subject of discussion. Horace Mann of Massachusetts addressed the association and a committee was appointed to present the subject to the State legislature at its next meeting. The establishment of normal schools was urged by the association from 1856 on, but it was 1870, the year of the beginning of our last period, before the teachers succeeded in getting favorable action by the State legislature.

The State Association has grown from a membership of 200 in 1870 to a membership of 15,000 in 1919. It now employs a secretary for full time. The secretary, Mr. E. M. Carter, has his offices at Columbia and has charge of the sale and distribution of both teachers' and pupils' reading circle books.

The association effected a complete reorganization in 1919. The new constitution provides for local community associations, and district associations affiliated with the State association. It also provides for a monthly School Journal called "School and Community" which is sent to every member of the association. The leaders of the asso-

ciation expect to secure by the new organization a one hundred per cent enrollment. That would be a membership of more than 20,000 teachers.

The State Teachers' Association is an example of a voluntary association working through the State government to accomplish many of its purposes.

Beginning with the creation of normal schools in 1870, the history of the progressive educational legislation in Missouri is a history of the passage of measures that had been urged through resolution and by committees of the association sometimes for years.

Normal schools, county institutes, county supervision, consolidation laws, compulsory school laws, a minimum term of eight months, and aid to rural schools were all secured through continued agitation by the State Teachers' Association. The State Department of Education and the State Association co-operate for progress in education in Missouri, and the State superintendent of schools can always rely upon the association for loyal support in carrying out his plans

State Agricultural Association. The State Agricultural Association of Missouri was organized in 1853. In 1865 the legislature passed an act creating a State Board of Agriculture. The State Board aids the voluntary state associations which have to do with the advancement of agriculture. The "Year Book" contains reports of these associations; such as the State Poultry Association, the State Sheep Breeders Association and the State Dairy Association. The object of these associations is the better development of their particular fields of work. There are now a large number of these organizations co-operating with the State Board of

Agriculture in developing the agricultural interests of the State. A number of voluntary agricultural organizations have a commercial or economic motive. Among these are the farm bureau movement, the farm club movement, the farmers' exchange, and various other local co-operative movements.

The Farm Bureau. The farm bureau works in connection with the Federal Department of Agriculture and the State College of Agriculture. Federal aid was granted to farm bureaus by the Smith-Lever Act, which was passed May 8, 1914. Since then the movement has spread rapidly and there are now (1920) in the state of Missouri thirty-five counties that maintain county agents, representing farm bureau organizations.

The purposes of this bureau are: (1) To increase the yield of crops per acre; (2) To assist the farmer to get seeds, fertilizers, live stock, and farm labor; (3) To effect co-operation for the economical purchase of farm supplies and the marketing of farm products; (4) To eliminate farm wastes; (5) To conduct demonstrations showing the benefits of spraying fruit, of treating oats and wheat for smut, of the vaccination of hogs and cattle, etc. In general the farm bureau attempts to carry the work of the State College of Agriculture to the farmer in his own home.

The Missouri Farmers' Association. The Missouri Farmers' Association was permanently organized at a farm club convention at Sedalia in 1917. The official organ of the association is "The Missouri Farmer" edited by William Hirth at Columbia. It is strictly a Missouri organization. The slogan is "production cost, together with a reasonable

profit for the fruit of the farmers' sweat and toil." At the present time (1920) there are over 2,000 local clubs with more than 50,000 members.

The Farmers' Exchange Association. The Farmers' Exchange Association was organized at Columbia during Farmers' Week in January, 1913. The association publishes a monthly bulletin which is sent to the members. In this is listed live stock that any member may want to sell. On joining this organization each member takes an oath not to misrepresent anything which he may list for sale.

There are several other farmers' organizations which are all similar in their purpose.

Organized Labor. At the beginning of our period (1870) organized labor had made little progress. Unions had been formed in the various trades, but there was no large organization which included all unions. Between 1870 and 1880 the Knights of Labor became strong in the State. In 1885 a railroad strike stopped the trains on the Gould System throughout the State. Much violence and rioting occurred. This caused the decline of Knights of Labor. The American Federation of Labor took its place. The State organization has made steady gains. In January, 1917, there were nine hundred and forty local branches in the State with a total membership of 103,107

Federation of Missouri Commercial Clubs. In 1870 there were few cities in Missouri. This period has been marked by the growth of cities, especially is this true of the later part of the period. The organization of a commercial club is one of the marks of a progressive city. In the last few years there have developed many problems common to all the cities of the State. The commercial clubs have

organized a State Federation of Commercial Clubs. Now every Missouri community of any importance has its commercial club. Probably 50,000 Missouri merchants and other business men belong to the commercial clubs that are affiliated in this state-wide organization.

The Red Cross. The Red Cross was organized in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1863. Our National Red Cross was organized in 1881. In Missouri the Red Cross made wonderful progress as soon as we became engaged in war with Germany. The Missouri organization "went over the top" in every membership campaign and every drive for funds. The problems of public health which were revealed by the war have opened up an extensive field of operation for the Red Cross in Missouri in time of peace. The organization is maintaining its membership. It is co-operating with other health agencies, especially the Tuberculosis Association, for the betterment of the health of the people of the State. The Junior Red Cross is organized throughout the schools of the State. The wonderful work done by the Red Cross during the war has given the organization the unlimited confidence of the people.

The Missouri Tuberculosis Association. The Tuberculosis Association is working in co-operation with the Red Cross for better sanitary conditions and better health of the people in order to prevent tuberculosis. This association was organized in 1907 and incorporated under the law regulating benevolent, educational and miscellaneous associations. The aim of the association is the suppression of tuberculosis. Its work is a crusade against that disease. The association bears no official relationship to the State and receives no financial aid from it. It is co-operating with the State Board

of Health in the organization of the division of Child Hygiene and is contributing service and supplies for that purpose.

The association is supported entirely by membership fees, voluntary contributions, and the proceeds of the sale of tuberculosis Christmas seals. These are sold for the most part by the children of the schools of Missouri.

The association secured the passage of an act providing for a state sanatorium for the treatment of tuberculosis cases. It soon became evident that the constitution of the state with its limitations would prevent the development of the work through state aid. A new plan was worked out. This plan divides the State into five districts corresponding to the Teachers' College Districts. The association places an agent in each district. The agent has the rank of full professor in the college, and the college furnishes office room and equipment. The association pays salary and expenses.

The field agent studies health conditions in the district, lectures to students in the college, speaks before teachers' meetings, promotes the modern health crusade and health surveys. The plan was tried out in the Central Missouri and the Southwest Missouri State Teachers' Colleges and proved so successful that the association expects to extend it to the other teachers' colleges of the State.

The association, in co-operation with other progressive forces, has been instrumental in securing the passage of advanced health legislation including laws for state aided hospitals, and for municipal and county nurses.

The work of the association is educational as to needs. This is followed by demonstration work in co-operation with the Child Hygiene division of the State Board of Health.

The Missouri Historical Society. This society is not to be confused with the State Historical Society of Missouri described in Chapter IV. The State Historical Society of Missouri is a State institution, is supported by State appropriation, and is located at Columbia. The Missouri Historical Society is a voluntary society located in St. Louis. It receives no aid from the State.

The Missouri Historical Society was founded August 11, 1866, by a group of public spirited men among whom were Edward Bates, James H. Lucas, John F. Darby, and Charles P. Chouteau. The society has continued active since it was founded. It is supported by endowments, membership dues, and donations. The Louisiana Purchase Exposition Company erected a splendid stone building in Forest Park, known as the Jefferson Memorial Building.

The company gave this building to the Historical Society for its permanent home. The society moved its collection to the Jefferson Memorial Building in 1913. It has a splendid collection of books, manuscripts, newspapers, and pamphlets relating to Missouri and Missourians. It also has an extensive genealogical section, a museum, and a portrait gallery of great interest. Its collections of Indian weapons, agricultural implements, pottery, pipes, and ceremonial objects is one of the best to be found anywhere.

The Missouri Press Association. The Missouri Press Association was organized in St. Louis on the 17th of May, 1867. Its members are bona fide editors and publishers of regular established newspapers, issued not less frequently than once a week, and of magazines of not less than quarterly issue, entered as second class mail matter, and who have continuously edited or published a journal for a year preced-

ing application for membership." The association holds an annual meeting. Since 1909 there has been a spring meeting during Journalism Week at the University of Missouri, as well as the regular fall meeting at some Missouri town or city. The association maintains relations with the National Editorial Association, sending delegates to its meetings. The object of the association is "to maintain a high standard of professional honor and personal probity for the publishing vocation of Missouri," to protect its members against losses through irresponsible advertisers, and in connection with this to promote social intercourse between its members and have a pleasant and profitable excursion each year.

Through the efforts of the Missouri Press Association two worth-while institutions of great value and importance have been established. These are the School of Journalism of the University of Missouri and the State Historical Society of Missouri at Columbia.

The Missouri State Medical Association. The Missouri State Medical Association was organized in 1850. Meetings have been held annually since that time except from 1859 to 1867. The purpose of the organization when it was first formed was to improve the profession and to protect it from the encroachment of incompetent persons. At that time there was no law defining a medical practitioner. The people were therefore at the mercy of quacks, charlatans, and untrained pretenders of all kinds.

The association grew in strength and influence as a guardian of the public health but never numbered more than 500 members until 1903 when it was reorganized. In that year the scope of the organization was enlarged,¹ new laws

¹ The purposes of the organization were as follows: "The purposes of this association shall be to federate and bring into one compact association

adopted, and members admitted through county societies, one society in each county that applied for a charter from the state association.

The membership increased at once to over twelve hundred, and forty counties were affiliated. Since that time the membership has grown to 3,400 at the present time (1920) and 108 counties, including the city of St. Louis, are affiliated. The association publishes a journal, which was established in 1904. Before the organization of the Missouri State Medical Association there were no laws concerning the control of contagious diseases or the licensing of physicians. The association has promoted progressive health legislation and has co-operated with the State Board of Health in enforcing the laws. Some of the results of the work of the organization may be seen in the remarkable advance in the science of medicine; character of physicians; in the emphasis placed upon disease prevention; and in the fact that the medical profession has become a powerful influence in guarding the public health by educating the people in the laws of hygiene and sanitation.

Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is the largest woman's organization in the State. The Missouri state organization was

the entire medical profession of the state of Missouri, and to unite with similar associations in other states to form the American Medical Association, with a view to the extension of medical knowledge and to the advancement of medical science; to the elevation of the standard of medical education, and to the enactment and enforcement of just medical laws; to the promotion of friendly intercourse among physicians, and to the guarding and fostering of their material interests; and to the enlightenment and direction of public opinion in regard to the great problems of state medicine, so that the profession shall become more capable and honorable within itself, and more useful to the public in the prevention and cure of disease, and in prolonging and adding comfort to life."

established soon after the founding of the National W. C. T. U. in 1874. The educational work of the W. C. T. U. in the State has had an influence which no one can measure. It secured the passage of a law requiring that the schools teach the effects of alcohol upon the human body.

The work of the organization is carried on under six general heads. This work has become so extensive that it includes many lines of effort for the betterment of the human race.

Woman Suffrage Organizations. An association was formed in St. Louis, May 8, 1867. "This was the first organization in the world having for its sole object the political enfranchisement of women." Most of the early woman's rights societies included other reforms.

At the November election of 1872 Mrs. Minor of St. Louis offered her vote under the XIV amendment and was refused. Her husband, a lawyer, brought suit and the case was carried to the Supreme Court, which decided against Mrs. Minor. That put an end to the hope for women's obtaining national suffrage without a constitutional amendment. The efforts of the women were from this time on centered on the Missouri legislature. From 1870 the women went with their petitions for suffrage to every session of the legislature. Sometimes they had difficulty in getting their memorials referred to the proper committee. Motions were made to refer them to the committee on swamp lands, or the committee on lunatic asylums. But for the most part they were treated with courtesy. But the suffragists learned to their sorrow that courteous treatment did not mean the passage of bills. In 1892 an interstate suffrage convention was held in Kansas City. Mrs. Virginia Hedges was elected

president, and Susan B. Anthony and Anna H. Shaw were speakers. In 1894 Mrs. Minor, who carried the case to the Supreme Court, died. This was a great loss to the movement in Missouri. From that time on for fifteen years suffragist enthusiasm was on the wane in Missouri. In 1910 the St. Louis Equal Suffrage League was formed with ten charter members.²

In the spring of 1911 a convention of the three clubs of Kansas City, Warrensburg, and Webster Groves was called and the Missouri Equal Suffrage Association was formed with Mrs. Robert Atkinson of St. Louis, as president. Events now moved rapidly, clubs were organized in all parts of the State and congressional district organizations were formed. A campaign for presidential suffrage by legislative action was pushed to a successful conclusion in March, 1919. The Susan B. Anthony amendment passed the Senate on June 4, 1919. Governor Gardner called a special session of the legislature for July second and the amendment was ratified by a vote 125 to 4 in the House and 29 to 3 in the Senate. The Missouri Equal Suffrage League had accomplished its purpose so far as Missouri was concerned. The Missouri legislature had done all it could do toward granting women equal suffrage

² "In the meantime other clubs were being formed, in other parts of Missouri.

Following a lecture by Sylvia Pankhurst Kansas City organized a Suffrage League with seventy members and Mrs. Henry Ess for its president. Warrensburg was next in order with a club of fifty members and Miss Laura Runyon, president. This club was the means of an untold amount of propaganda through the pupils of the school in Warrensburg. These pupils carried suffrage gospel to all parts of the State. A third club was formed in Webster Groves with twenty-five members. Mrs. Lee Rosborough was elected president. Missouri now had three clubs, the requisite number for uniting with the National Association."

Mrs. Robert Atkinson in Mo. Hist. Review.

The League of Women Voters. At the Golden Jubilee Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association held in St. Louis, March, 1919, the League of Women Voters was organized. After the Missouri legislature ratified the suffrage amendment, the Missouri Suffrage Association was reorganized and its name was changed to The League of Women Voters. A new constitution was adopted. Article II gives the purposes of the league as follows: "The aims of this League shall be to increase the effectiveness of woman's vote in furthering better government. The league as an organization shall be strictly non-partizan. Its officers and members are free to join the party of their choice."

The league in its state convention has already taken a strong position in favor of better education, and such instruction in citizenship that "all voters will speak the English language, read their own ballots and honor the American flag."

Other Organizations. There are a great many organizations having a specific co-operative work which they are promoting. Among these are the churches, the lodges, the Anti-Saloon League, the Grand Army of the Republic, the American Legion, the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Daughters of the Confederacy, the Woman's Relief Corps, The Federation of Woman's Clubs, and many others.

While churches and lodges were, for the most part, organized before 1870, the other organizations belong to this last period of Missouri history.

CHAPTER VI

MISSOURI AND THE GREAT WAR¹

When Missouri applied for admission to the Union as a state, one of the reasons given why she should receive recognition was the service she had rendered the nation in the War of 1812. During the Seminole War, Missouri furnished a volunteer regiment to serve in Florida. Her part in the Mexican War was unusually brilliant and vitally important. Colonel Doniphan and his Missouri volunteers made the longest march in history. In the Civil War the entire fighting strength of the State was engaged in the armies of the North or the South. In the Spanish-American War every member of the Missouri National Guard volunteered. The entire quota required of Missouri was supplied by the National Guard of the State. A great many volunteer companies were organized and at the end of the war were anxiously waiting to be called. In the Mexican crisis in 1916 the Missouri National Guard, 5,030 strong, were the first to reach the Rio Grande and for six months it patrolled 145 miles of the most difficult portion of the Mexican border.

When America entered the Great War, there was considerable uneasiness on the Atlantic coast as to whether or

¹ For the data in this chapter the author is indebted to General Harvey C. Clark, whose article "Missourians in Service" in the *Missouri Historical Review* of October, 1919, furnishes the basis for much of the chapter. The series of articles in the *Missouri Historical Review*, "Missouri and the War," by Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker have also been used extensively.

not the Middle West would do its part. Missouri was the object of special concern to eastern newspaper writers, because of the German population in the State. Of course, no one who knew anything of Missouri's war history ever had any doubt about what she would do when war came.

The record of Missouri's part in the war shows that the State was always among the first in real war activities. She furnished 128,000 men to the army, 3,400 to the marine corps, and 6,910 to the navy, a total of 138,310. "The record made by Missourians on the battle fields of Europe has never been surpassed in the annals of warfare. To them we must pay the supreme tribute of a grateful people. No words can measure their heroic gallantry, the greatness of their sacrifice. We can never sufficiently show our appreciation; the ledger of our gratitude can never be balanced."²

The men who never got across the sea, but served in the camps on this side made untold sacrifice. The life of a soldier even in a training camp is one of hardship and danger. In this war more American soldiers died in camp of pneumonia and influenza than were killed in battle. The real hero of this war more than of any other war of history was the common soldier and the line officer.³ There were 4,000,000

² Quoted from General Clark's article "Missourians in Service."

³ "As a people we are prone to look for a military hero, and unfortunately there is a tendency to fix our eyes upon men in high places because we see their names most frequently mentioned. There is a disposition to unduly magnify the patriotism and service of men in high political, financial, or social positions who do very ordinary things, forgetting that the very prominence of some of these men would force them to seek public commendation; and sometimes we find some of them posing in comfortable berths where they can bask in public favor far from the scene of hardship and danger. The service of the men in the field is quite different from that of one who serves in a comfortable office building, surrounded by all the comforts of civil life."

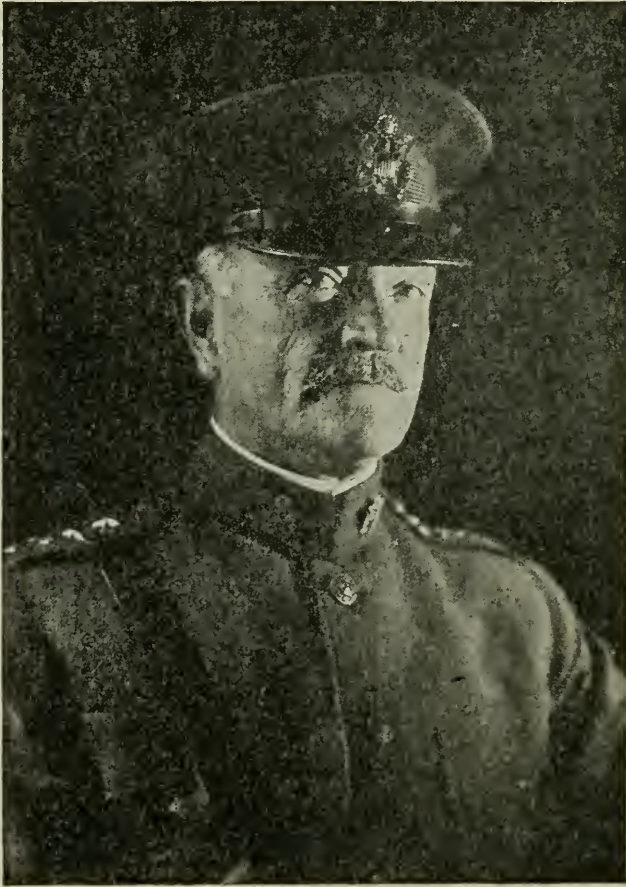
of them. They furnished the casualty list. They served and suffered. They won the war.

The Missouri National Guard. The last organization of the Missouri Guard had just been released from the Federal service on the Mexican border when war was declared. Governor Gardner immediately applied to the war department for authority to recruit all organizations of the National Guard to war strength, and to organize all the new units to which the State was entitled under the law. General Harvey C. Clark was assigned the task of organizing, training and equipping in three months a force which, under the defense act, the State was given five years to raise.

On August 5, 1917, the date the Guard was taken out of the Federal service, Missouri had organized every unit authorized by the war department. The strength of the guard was 14,756 men and officers. The entire force was mobilized on the state rifle range near Nevada. On September 28, the troops entrained for Camp Doniphan, Oklahoma, where they were consolidated with the Kansas National Guard to form the thirty-fifth division. Missouri furnished about two-thirds and Kansas about one-third of the men in this division.⁴ The division remained at Camp Doniphan until April 12, 1918, when it moved to Camp Mills, New York, and embarked for Europe. It arrived at Liverpool May 7 and landed in France May 17, 1918. After a brief period of training in France the division was sent to the front line trenches in the Vosges sector. After a long stay in that sector it was attached to the American force which made the attack at St. Mihiel. After the

⁴ From the newspaper controversy stirred up by William Allen, later governor of Kansas, one would get the idea that the thirty-fifth division was a Kansas unit.

reduction of the St. Mihiel salient, the division was moved to the Argonne and for six days participated in the fiercest fighting of the greatest and most decisive battle of the war. The thirty-fifth division was the razor edge of the advancing American wedge. It bore the brunt of the battle, and four picked divisions of the famous Prussian Guard, the first, second, third, and fourth, were thrown in its way only to



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GENERAL PERSHING

be routed.⁵ "Thus the citizen soldiery of Missouri and Kansas met and defeated the professional troops of the nation which stands as the foremost exponent of professional militarism.⁶ There has been much criticism in

⁵ "The division went over the top at 5:30 A.M. September 26, 1918, and on October first after six days of the most desperate fighting of the war, it had captured every objective from Vanquis Hill to Exemont, advancing a distance of some eleven miles over a terrain mined and fortified with barbed wire and concrete as strongly as Prussian ingenuity knew how to defend it.

"The casualties of the division in this engagement were 7,854 of which number 675 Missourians were killed and 4,561 wounded." (A total of 5,236 out of 7,854 were Missourians.) "Thirty-five Missouri infantry officers were killed and eighty-five wounded, a percentage of forty, which was a larger relative loss among officers than in any other division in the American army. Six hundred and forty Missouri enlisted men were killed and 4,476 wounded, or thirty-five per cent of the Missourians in the division.

⁶ The following extract from a letter received by General Clark from a Missouri officer describes the conduct of the Missourians. It was mailed soon after the Argonne fight. "When the history of our division is written every Missourian will be proud of the fact that he lives in a state which can furnish such soldiers to the world. No words can tell you of the heroic conduct of our men and of their uncomplaining, cheerful suffering and magnificent gallantry as they faced, again and again, the awful fire of the Hun machine guns and again and again charged through the German lines and put to rout the picked troops of the enemy. We have read of the grim courage and incomparable spirit of Napoleon's Old Guard, but nothing could have surpassed the matchless bravery and cool efficiency of the Missouri and Kansas boys as they poured out their blood upon this awful field. I thought I knew what esprit de corps was, but I never quite realized it until I witnessed the devoted comradeship of these National Guardsmen grimly determined that the record made by the Missouri National Guard, in its acid test, should never be equaled. I know how you will feel when you read the casualty lists, because you will recognize the names of scores with whom you have served, and when you receive this letter you will know that I saw many of them go down, faithful to the last, dying with a heroism which has never been surpassed on any battlefield in the world."

the press in reference to the management of this division. The confidential report of the Inspector, General Hugh A. Dunn, severely criticises Major General Peter E. Traub, who commanded the division, Chief Signal Officer Colonel George A. Wieczorek and General L. G. Berry, all regular United States Army officers. The report criticised the change of brigade and regimental commanders on the eve of battle, thus placing officers in command who were not familiar with the troops, the field, or the plans. The division returned to the United States in May, 1919, and was discharged from the Federal service at Camp Funston.

The Eighty-ninth Division. Soon after the mobilization of the National Guard, the government began the organization of another great force under the Selective Service Act. The first group of drafted men from Missouri was sent to Camp Funston in September, 1917, and together with the men from other western states was organized into the eighty-ninth division. It was trained by Major General Leonard Wood. Its men were the best in the great Middle West. Its officers were, for the most part, without military training except that given in the officers' training camps. But these officers did their work so well that the eighty-ninth went across in June, 1918, and it became one of the finest fighting units in France. It took a prominent part in the battle of St. Mihiel and the Argonne, and reflected the greatest credit upon the citizen soldiery of the great Middle West. After the Armistice was signed, it became a part of the Army of Occupation in Germany.⁷ The division was

⁷ During its service the eighty-ninth division captured 5,061 prisoners, 127 pieces of artillery, 455 machine guns, and advanced more than twenty-two miles against the enemy. Its members were awarded eight congres-

brought back to the United States in June, 1919 and was immediately discharged from the Federal service

Other Missouri Units. One National Guard unit, the First Missouri Signal Corps Battalion, stationed at Kansas City, was a part of the Rainbow (42nd) Division. The record of this division was unexcelled, and the Missouri unit, commanded by Colonel Ruby D. Garrett, was considered one of its very best.

Another Missouri unit which acquitted itself with great credit was the twelfth Engineers, organized largely from railroad men in the city of St. Louis

The eighty-eighth division⁸ organized at Camp Dodge, Iowa, had contained a large number of Missouri soldiers. Likewise a great many Missourians were taken to Camp Pike, Arkansas, where they became a part of the division.

Missourians in All Units. Missouri was represented in practically every company, battery corps or contingent in the American army, and this State contributed its full quota to the Officers' Reserve Corps, Navy, Regular Army, Aviation Service, Marine Corps, The Engineers, Railroad Troops and Sanitary Units. Missourians fought with the marines at Chateau Thierry, their blood was poured out on every field in France and Belgium where American troops were engaged.

sional Medals of Honor, one hundred nineteen Distinguished Service Crosses and fifty-five Croix de Guerre. It lost 1,419 killed and 7,394 wounded.

⁸ The wonderful record made by this division composed of citizen soldiers of the middle west explodes the theory of the advocates of professional militarism. This division, with less than a year of training was superior from every standpoint to the professional soldiers of Germany with their years of training.

"The conduct and bearing of our officers and men in all these organizations were such as to reflect the greatest credit upon the states. The record of all these young men is the priceless heritage of our State. They were our very best. So long as time lasts we will mourn for those who made the supreme sacrifice, and the people of Missouri should never cease in their efforts to show appreciation of the sacrifices made by those who served in the field, at home or abroad. Let us not be content with expressions of gratitude; let us see to it that the material loss of every Missourian who answered his country's call is reduced to the minimum. He is entitled to every consideration as long as he lives; let us not withhold it. He must face problems which he would not otherwise have been called upon to meet; let us make them easy for him."⁹

The General Assembly of 1919 passed a number of acts for the purpose of expressing in a substantial way our gratitude. First: A Soldiers' and Sailors' Employment Commission was created. Ten thousand dollars was appropriated for the expenses of the commission. Second: an act was passed authorizing the county court of each county and the municipal body of each city to erect a suitable memorial building, or monument, or place a bronze tablet in some public building at the county seat dedicated to the memory of the soldiers, sailors, and marines furnished by the county or city in the war with Germany. One hundred and thirty thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose. Third: An act was passed dedicating both floors of the east corridor of the new capitol building to the purpose

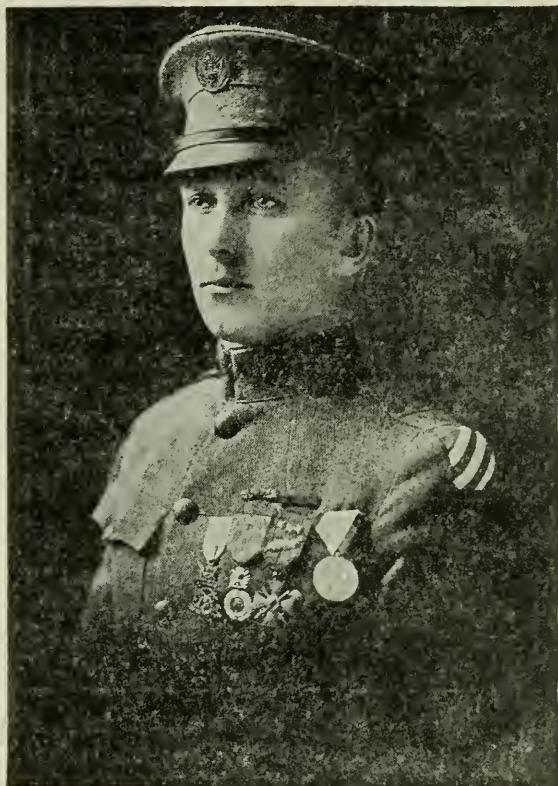
⁹ From the article of General Harvey C. Clark "Missourians in Service" in the Missouri Historical Review of October, 1919.

of a soldiers' and sailors' memorial hall. The battle flags of all Missouri units in all the wars in which Missourians have been engaged are to be displayed there. Fifteen thousand dollars was appropriated for this purpose. Fourth: This act appropriates \$25,000 for erecting in France a suitable memorial to the memory of the Missouri boys who fell there. Fifth: The act appropriates \$25,000 for the compilation and publication of the records of Missouri units in the war, together with a biography of every soldier, sailor or marine who served. The adjutant general is authorized to do this work. It is estimated that the work will contain six volumes. Provision is made for the free distribution of this history to all libraries and public schools of the State. Sixth: The act provides that all officers and employees of the Workman's Compensation Commission shall be honorably discharged soldiers, sailors and marines. Finally: The act provides for the reorganization of the National Guard and appropriates \$265,000 for that purpose.

Decorations and War Crosses. Hundreds of Missouri boys have been decorated for acts of daring and bravery. Every such decoration is the recognition of an act of unusual courage, performed without thought of self, for the benefit of comrades and country. The detailed stories of these deeds, if they could all be written, would make a most interesting book. The most decorated Missourian in the service, with the possible exception of General Pershing, is Private John Barclay¹⁰ of Holden, Missouri. Barclay re-

¹⁰ Barclay, a former student of Central Missouri State Teachers' College, was a private in the Intelligence Service of the 4th infantry. The 7th infantry was on the right of the 4th and had a well fortified hill in their front to take. The 4th infantry made an attack in an attempt to flank the hill and lost heavily. During the night of the 6th of October Barclay

ceived eight decorations, the Congressional Medal of Honor, the French Croix de Guerre, the French Medaille Militaire, the British War Cross, the Belgian War Cross, the Medal de Bravery of Montenegro.



JOHN BARCLAY

was sent out to establish an observation post in advance and to the right of the 7th infantry. He succeeded in establishing himself near the enemy line. He stayed at his post on the 7th of October watching the Germans. He was to give warning with a telephone if the Germans prepared to attack. But the artillery fire of the enemy cut his telephone line. He could see the Germans carrying ammunition all morning and making preparation for an attack, but could give no warning. About 150 yards to the rear of Barclay's position was a disabled tank which the Germans

Pershing and Crowder. Not only have Missouri private soldiers and line officers reflected great credit upon the State, but the leaders she has furnished in the great war hold first place in the service rendered and in the esteem of the nation.

had evidently abandoned in a hurry. Around this tank were piles of machine gun ammunition and several machine gun barrels with the blocks removed to render them useless. Barclay as an intelligence man had been instructed in the use of all kinds of enemy and allied fire arms and carried a German machine gun block with him. During the day Barclay had plenty of time to figure out what a fine fort that tank would make, if he could only get to it. The enemy preparations for the attack seemed to be about complete, and Barclay was about ready to leave his post and make a run for his own lines, although that almost certainly meant death, when suddenly about four o'clock in the afternoon the 7th infantry threw over a smoke screen. Under cover of the smoke screen Barclay made his way to the tank gathered up seven or eight thousand rounds of ammunition and put in the tank or where he could reach it, and took in two machine gun barrels. He filled the water jacket of the machine gun from a shell hole and was ready for the enemy. The smoke screen had hardly begun to clear away when he saw the lines of enemy skirmishers advancing. Soon the Germans shot up a green rocket and the main line of attack moved forward. From Barclay's position he had a good field of fire on the German line from the flank as it advanced. He fired about 3,000 rounds and the German line melted away. Only a few got back to the cover of their trenches. Immediately German machine gun bullets began to fall on the tank like rain, but without damage to Barclay. Soon a one pounder opened fire from a wood about 800 yards distant. The shots were serious and were getting close to their mark. Barclay's nose began bleeding from the concussion as the tank was hit. At first the enemy gun was so well camouflaged that Barclay could not locate it. But after a time he succeeded in locating the flash. Swinging his tank around he cut a circle of fire around the spot and then cut an x across it. The one pounder did not fire again. A second attack was started. Barclay's gun choked. He changed barrels and in doing so lost the water in the jacket. He emptied his canteen into the water jacket, but that did not last long. Thinking he had done all he could he started to leave the tank when he stumbled on to a two gallon can of oil. He emptied the oil into the water jacket, and the smoke blinded and almost suffocated him for a time. He touched his finger to the trigger and his gun worked again. The second and heavi-

First among Missouri's great leaders in the war stands General John J. Pershing,¹¹ Commander-in-Chief of the American Expeditionary Forces. Among all the commanders of the nations of first rank which entered the war, Pershing is the only one who occupied that position from the

first German attack melted away as the first had done. The 7th infantry attack came and cleared the German trenches. About that time the German six inch artillery to the rear of the German line opened fire upon the tank, but Barclay had done his work and the 7th infantry had taken the German infantry trenches before the German artillery got into action. Barclay had been in the tank about two and one-half hours. Nearly all of his regiment has been killed or wounded in the fight of the day before. When he got back to his own lines he was so exhausted with the work of the night before and the day that he found a safe dugout and slept all night and all the next day. The first man to reach Barclay was an officer of the 7th infantry. One of Barclay's officers had seen the whole fight from a balloon, but did not know at the time that it was Barclay in the tank.

¹¹ John J. Pershing and Enoch H. Crowder, the two leading military men of the nation, are both Missourians. Pershing was born in Linn County in 1860; Crowder in the adjoining county of Grundy in 1859. Both were appointed cadets to West Point, Crowder going first and Pershing following immediately afterward. Both were graduated and commissioned second lieutenants in cavalry, and saw their first service together in Indian Wars in Arizona. Then Lieutenant Crowder was detailed as instructor in military tactics at the University of Missouri and Pershing had the same detail at the University of Nebraska. While on these details both studied law and were graduated from their respective universities. They were together again in the campaign against the Sioux Indians. They were both in Cuba, both in the Philippines, and both were sent as military representatives to Japan during the Russo-Japanese War.

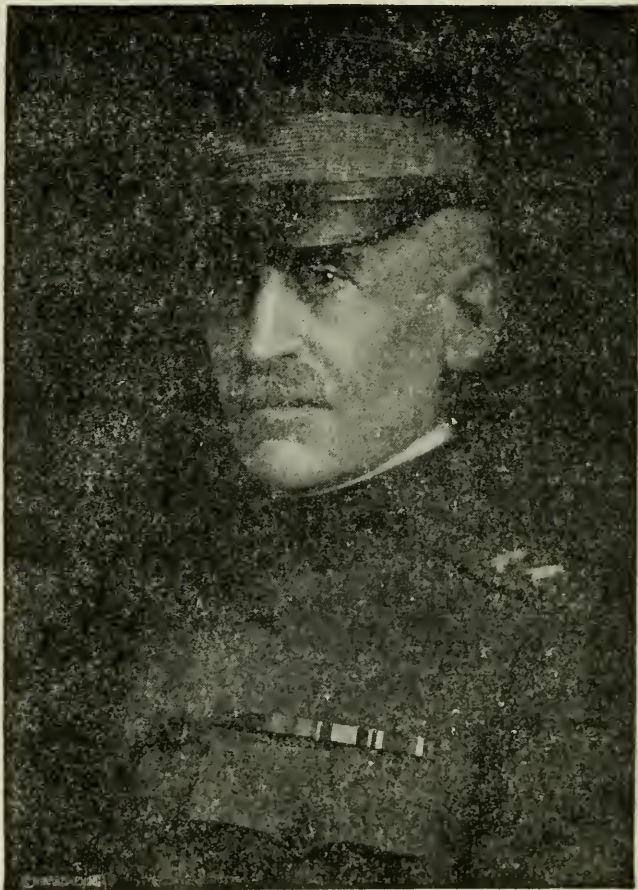
Crowder was promoted over several hundred officers when he was appointed judge advocate of the regular army with the rank of major, while Pershing went over 800 heads, from captain to brigadier general. Both reached the highest rank possible in their respective lines of service, Pershing that of General in command of the American Expeditionary Forces, and Crowder that of Major General, the highest rank attainable by a staff officer on duty at Washington. They have had a large share in the war—Pershing directing the American armies in the field, Crowder managing the mobilization of the millions to make these armies.

time his country entered the contest until the end of the war. The German commander, Von Moltke, lasted but a short time. The British General French gave way to General Haig. The French leader, General Joffe, was retired and finally Foch became commander. The Italian General Cardona held his command for nearly two years but was finally relieved, and was succeeded by General Diaz. But General Pershing landed in France soon after the United States entered the war and on the day the Armistice was signed he held to the fullest extent the confidence of his army, his government, his people, the allied armies, and the allied nations. "No military officer has been more closely observed, has had a more significant position, and has met more peculiar situations demanding executive ability and political astuteness than General Pershing. If he had failed once, even in some minor operation, had spoken the wrong word, had left a poor impression on civilians and soldiers at home or in England and France, or had committed one of a hundred possible errors, the fact would have been heralded over land and sea. Somehow, he met every test."¹²

Next to General Pershing, doubtless, the most distinguished man produced by the war is General Enoch H. Crowder, also a Missourian. General Crowder when a young lieutenant serving on the frontier became interested in the problem of properly drafting men for army service in the United States. He specialized on that problem. In 1904, when attached to the first Japanese army as military observer, his first thought was directed to the questions that concerned the raising of armies. There are always men to

¹² Shoemaker—"Missouri and the War." *Missouri Historical Review*.

lead armies, he said, but who can lead armies if they do not exist? When the war came, he was ready with the suggestions on which the Universal Service Law was framed. Under Crowder's administration the law worked smoothly. Four million men were mobilized, and Crowder knew exactly where to get 20,000,000 more as they might be needed.



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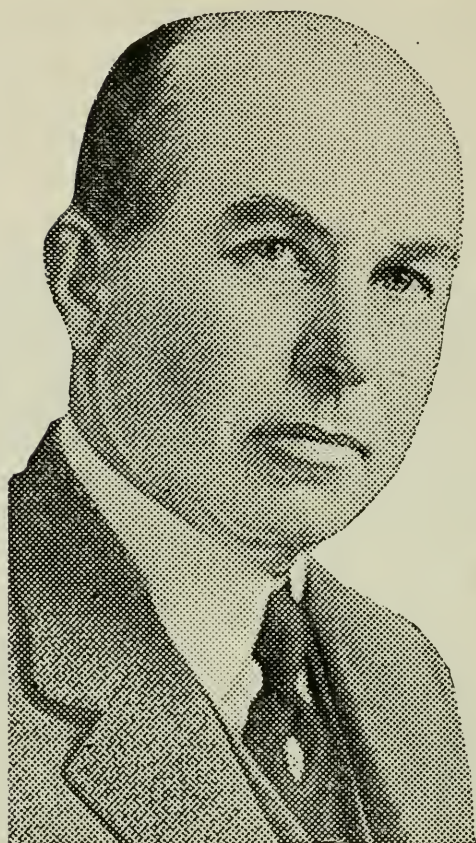
PROVOST MARSHAL GENERAL E. H. CROWDER

Other Leaders in the War. When the first American flotilla of destroyers in active service in European waters arrived at Queenstown, it was directed by a Missourian, Commander Joseph K. Taussig of St. Louis, son of Rear-Admiral Taussig, also of St. Louis.

When the nation began its campaign for greater food production, the work was placed under the direction of a former Missourian, Hon. David E. Houston, Secretary of Agriculture. Hon. Carl Vrooman, a Macon County Missourian and Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, became leader of the speaking campaign for greater food production. When the committee on public information was organized in Washington, a Missourian, George Creel, a native of Lafayette County, was made chairman. Hon. David R. Francis rendered very valuable service during the war as ambassador to Russia.

One of Missouri's most active and earnest leaders in war work was her war governor, Frederick D. Gardner. Governor Gardner was one of the first state executives to call a state-wide convention to carry out the wishes of the President and Congress. Hundreds of other Missourians occupied prominent positions in the war and in war work both at home and abroad, but the lack of space prevents their mention by name.

The Work of Missouri at Home. While Missourians were doing their full duty abroad and in the training camps, they were supported loyally by Missourians at home, in field, in factory, and in mine. Missouri's record of war activity is a matter of pride to the State and a satisfaction to her citizens.



FREDERICK D. GARDNER
Missouri's War Governor

Missouri stood first in proportion to population in signers of the Hoover food pledges and in sale of thrift stamps. She always over-subscribed her quota in liberty loan drives. She more than doubled her allotment in Red Cross membership campaigns.

Measured by every practical standard, volunteer enlistments, thrift stamp sales, purchase of bonds, Red Cross subscriptions and Y.M.C.A. contributions, Missouri stands high.

Food Production. But the most remarkable work done by Missourians at home was that of food production. In spite of the fact that the State lost a large number of her farm laborers in the draft, the total value of all her crops in 1917 was more than double that of 1916. The State ranked fourteenth in 1916 and fifth in 1917 in value of food crops.¹³ This response to the nation's call for food is evidence of the patriotism of the Missouri farmers.

13

Crop	1916	1917	Percentage in crease
Corn.....	132,000,000	252,000,000	91%
Wheat (1917)....	275,400,000	46,225,000	31 "
Potatoes.....	5,460,000	9,483,000	74 "
Oats.....	32,250,000	59,200,000	84 "
Buckwheat.....	56,000	90,000	61 "
Sweet potatoes ..	490,000	806,000	83 "
Sorghum-molasses		2,500,000	233 "
Gardens.....			225 "
Beans.....			500 "
Canned products.....			85 "

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VI

1. Discuss the war record of Missouri before the great war.
2. What was the attitude of the East toward Missouri at the beginning of the war?
3. How many men did Missouri furnish during the war?
4. Who were the real heroes of the war?
5. What was the strength of the National Guard when taken into the Federal service? Who had organized it?
6. In what division was the Missouri National Guard placed?
7. In what battles was the Missouri Guard engaged?

8. What were the losses of the Missouri Guard in the Argonne?
9. Who was criticised and what were some of the criticisms made concerning the management of the division in the Argonne battle?
10. Where, when and by whom was the eighty-ninth division organized?
11. Give an account of its campaigns.
12. What Missouri unit was in the Rainbow Division?
13. Name other units containing Missouri men.
14. What had the General Assembly of Missouri done to aid the soldiers of the State?
15. What are the meaning of military decorations?
16. Who is the most decorated Missouri soldier? For what was he decorated?
17. Who are Missouri's two most noted military leaders?
18. Give an account of them.
19. Name other Missouri leaders in the war.
20. How does Missouri stand in war work at home?
21. How did Missouri rank in the value of food crops in 1916? In 1917?

CHAPTER VII

MISSOURI WRITERS

Missouri has produced a large number of writers, some of whom have become famous in all parts of the world. Thomas H. Benton, William F. Switzler, and Colonel Sneed, editor of the "St. Louis Bulletin," were all writers of ability who lived during the third period. But the most productive period in Missouri literature is the period from 1870 to 1920. Some writers of this period deserve special mention.

"Mark Twain." Samuel L. Clemens, whose pen name was Mark Twain, was Missouri's greatest writer and America's most famous humorist. He was born in the town of Florida, Monroe County, Missouri, on November 30, 1835. His parents were poor but well educated. They moved to Hannibal when he was three years old. As he grew to manhood, he spent many hours on the bank of the great Mississippi watching the steamboats. He enjoyed talking with the men who worked on the boats. The most important man on a steamboat running on the Mississippi was the pilot. Mark Twain later became a pilot on a Mississippi River steamboat.

Mark Twain did not like to go to school. He was a good speller and liked to read history, but history was not often taught in school in those days.

He worked on a Hannibal newspaper for several years. For four years he was in the east, and while there made a living setting type in newspaper offices in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington. Returning to Missouri he worked

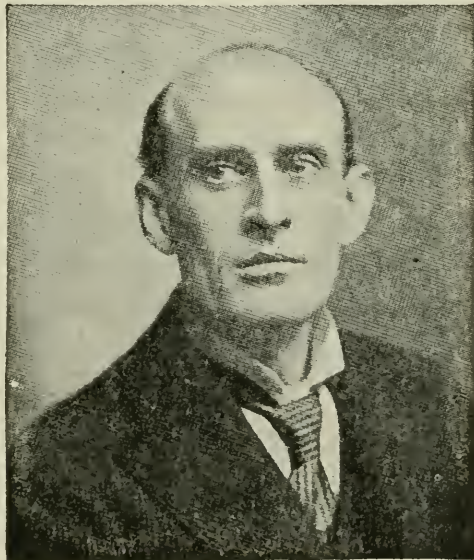
for his brother, who owned a newspaper. He then went to New Orleans and learned to be a pilot on the Mississippi. In his work as a pilot he met and talked to all kinds of men. Later he wrote a book which he called "Life on the Mississippi."

When the war broke out, Mark Twain joined the Confederate army. He was captured, but escaped and went to Nevada where his brother Orion lived at that time. He tried mining for a while and then became a reporter for a newspaper. Later he wrote a book "Roughing It" in which he told his experiences in the west. While in a mining camp in the west, Mark Twain heard a story about a frog. He wrote the story and it made him famous. This was in 1867 when he was thirty-two years old. From this time he traveled a great deal, observed folks closely and wrote many books and stories for newspapers and magazines. His books were not only read in America and England but were translated into other languages and read in all parts of the world. His stories were read and liked by everybody from the ten year old boy to the man seventy years of age. They were full of wit and humor, but they also had serious thought in them beneath the fun. Mark Twain made fun of shams, sympathized with the poor and unfortunate, and denounced injustice. He ranks among the greatest humorists the world has produced. He died at his home in Connecticut, April 21, 1910. Among his best known works are: "Tom Sawyer," "Huckleberry Finn," "Innocents Abroad," "The Prince and the Pauper," and "Pudd'nhead Wilson."

Although Mark Twain had never received a high school or college education, the University of Missouri and the

University of Oxford, England, recognized his greatness and conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Eugene Field. Next to Mark Twain, Missouri's most famous writer is Eugene Field. He was born in St. Louis, September 3, 1850 and died in Chicago, November 4, 1895. His father was wealthy and Eugene was sent to school in the east. After his father's death, he entered Missouri University. He was there but two years, but these two years were so full of activity that there are probably more stories told of Eugene Field than of any other student of the University. Field was not a good student except in the work he liked. He spent most of his time in writing and singing, and in playing jokes on the professors. He was a good speaker and a star in theatrical performances. He



EUGENE FIELD

From Stevens' Missouri, the Center
State, by permission of the Mis-
souri Historical Society

became literary editor of the first student paper published at the University of Missouri. This paper called the "University Missourian" was founded in 1871 by Field and others. It lived during the two years that Field remained at the University. All of his early writings, both poetry and prose, were published in this paper.

Eugene Field had inherited \$60,000 from his father's estate. In 1873 he decided to travel in Europe. He left the University, took a companion with him, and spent the year traveling in Europe. He also spent his \$60,000. He now returned to St. Louis and began work as a reporter. He continued to be a writer for newspapers until his death in 1895. He was always poor and in need of money. He married in St. Joseph and lived there two years. He then worked on newspapers in Kansas City, Denver, and Chicago.

Eugene Field was a great lover of children and has been called the "Poet Laureate of Children." His fame as an author rests largely on his poetry about children, which is read more to-day than when it was first published. His first book was "The Tribune Primer" and was written while he was working on the Denver Tribune. He next published "A Little Book of Western Verse," and "A Little Book of Profitable Tales." These books gave Field a national reputation. He published a number of other books. After his death all his works were published in a set of ten volumes. Eugene Field had five children, four girls and a boy. His son died when a child. The closet where the child kept his toys was locked just as he had left it. Years afterward one day Field unlocked the closet. What he saw, he told in a little poem called "Little Boy Blue." It is his most read poem.¹

1

Little Boy Blue

The little toy dog is covered with dust,
But sturdy and stanch he stands;

Harold Bell Wright. Although Harold Bell Wright is not a native of Missouri, he spent several years in Missouri. His two greatest books, "The Shepherd of the Hills," and "The Calling of Dan Matthews" were written in Missouri. They describe the Missouri mountaineer, and picture the scenery of the Ozark Hills so graphically that his hero "Young Matt" will always stand for the ideal mountaineer of South Missouri.

These stories of the people and the scenery of the South South Missouri hills made Harold Bell Wright one of the most popular living novelists. More than eight million copies of his books have been sold.

And the little toy soldier is red with rust,
And his musket moulds in his hands.
Time was when the little toy dog was new,
And the soldier was passing fair,
And that was the time when Little Boy Blue
Kissed them and put them there.

"Now, don't you go till I come," he said,
"And don't you make any noise!"
So toddling off to his trundle-bed
He dreamt of the pretty toys.
And as he was dreaming, an angel song
Awakened our Little Boy Blue—
Oh, the years are many, the years are long,
But the little toy friends are true!

Ay, faithful to Little Boy Blue they stand,
Each in the same old place,
Awaiting the touch of a little hand,
The smile of a little face.
And they wonder, as waiting these long years through,
In the dust of that little chair,
What has become of our Little Boy Blue
Since he kissed them and put them there.

Other Missouri Writers. There are many other Missouri writers who have attained prominence. Some of these were born and educated in Missouri but have since moved to other states. Others are still living and writing in Missouri. Winston Churchill was born in St. Louis, November 10, 1871, graduated from the United States Naval Academy, and now lives in New Hampshire. He has written many novels and ranks as one of the most popular novelists of today. One of his best works is "The Crisis," a historical novel depicting St. Louis scenes of the Civil War period.

Probably Sara Teasdale is Missouri's best known living poet. She was born in St. Louis in 1884, and published her first volume of poems in 1907. "Helen of Troy and Other Poems" was published in 1911. Two volumes, "Rivers to the Sea" and "Love Songs" were published in 1917. In 1918 she was awarded the Pulitzer prize of Columbia University for the best volume of poetry.

Augustus Thomas, one of Missouri's best playwrights, was born in St. Louis in 1859 and educated in the St. Louis public schools. For a time he was editor and proprietor of the "Kansas City Mirror." Among his dramas are: "Alabama," "Arizona," "The Witching Hour," "The Meddler," "The Man Up Stairs" and "The Other Girl."

Mention should be made of J. Breckenridge Ellis, novelist; Fannie Hurst, playwright and novelist; Floyd C. Shoemaker and Louis P. Houck, writers of Missouri history; George Creel, magazine writer; and Walter Williams, journalist.

QUESTIONS ON CHAPTER VII

1. Name some Missouri writers of the third period.
2. What was Mark Twain's real name?
3. Give a sketch of Mark Twain's early life?
4. What vocations did Mark Twain follow before he became a writer?

What story made him famous?

5. Name some of Mark Twain's best known works.
6. Where did Eugene Field get his education? What kind of student was he?
7. Where did Eugene Field work? What kind of poetry did he write? What is his best known poem?
8. Why may Harold Bell Wright be classed as a Missouri writer?
9. Name five other Missouri writers.

CHAPTER VIII

MISSOURI NEWSPAPERS

Importance of the Press. Even before Missouri became a state the newspaper had become an important factor in the social, economic, and political life of the people. As the State developed, the press became more important, especially in the field of politics. Newspapers served the political parties much as standing committees do to-day. But in the last period of the history of the State the press has come to stand second only to public education in its importance in developing the ideals and moulding the lives of the citizens of Missouri. Without the press the co-operative work of society, which is the chief characteristic of the period, would be impossible. On the other hand, the metropolitan press of the State is one of the best examples of co-operative effort in doing work which is of vital importance to a modern state.

In a state where practically every one can read, the press becomes important as a guide to the people in the every day affairs of life. That most people depend upon the newspaper for political information and many times for political opinion is a well known fact. The teacher reads his professional journal and gets inspiration and suggestions for his classroom duties. The farmer reads his agricultural journal and frequently plans his work in accordance with ideas found in his paper. The trader receives his daily bulletin of price lists. The doctor keeps informed of new developments in

his profession by means of his medical journal, and leaders in our churches insist upon the membership taking the church papers. Twenty people, it has been said, read a paper where one hears a lecture or a sermon. As our civilization becomes more complex the press becomes more necessary to the very existence of modern society.

Early Missouri Newspapers. The first newspaper published in Missouri was the Missouri Gazette. The Gazette was established in 1808 by Joseph Charless.¹ It started with 174 subscribers. The number gradually increased until it had reached one thousand by 1820. The first issue was printed upon foolscap paper twelve and one-half inches by seven and three-fourths inches. The third number had four pages, three columns to the page in small pica type. Mr. Charless frequently had great difficulty in obtaining paper. Occasionally the Gazette failed to appear for several weeks at a time because the paper which had to be brought from Lexington, Kentucky could not be obtained. Charless was aggressive and outspoken and a strong supporter of the administrations of Jefferson and Madison. He got into a controversy with certain leading citizens of St. Louis which led to two personal conflicts. The enemies of Charless then raised \$1,000 to establish a paper in opposition to the Gazette. The paper was started as the Western Journal

¹ Joseph Charless was born in Ireland, July 16, 1772. Having been implicated in the Irish rebellion of 1795 he fled to France and soon made his way to the United States. He settled in Philadelphia in 1796 and being a printer by trade, secured a position with Mathew Carey, who at that time was the leading publisher of the city. In 1808 he moved to St. Louis where he established the first newspaper west of the Mississippi. Having sold the Gazette in 1820, he later engaged in the drug business. He died at his home in St. Louis in 1834.

in May, 1815. It was changed to the Western Emigrant in 1817, and in 1819 it became the St. Louis Enquirer with Thomas H. Benton as editor.

The first paper west of St. Louis was the Intelligencer established at Old Franklin in 1819. The paper consisted of four pages, each twelve by eighteen inches, five columns to the page. The publishers were Benjamin Holiday and Nathaniel Patten. Patten was a printer by trade and became editor. The intelligencer was published at Old Franklin until 1826 when Patten, who had become sole owner, moved it to Fayette. In 1830 Patten moved the Intelligencer to Columbia where he published it until 1835. A group of Whig politicians bought the paper and changed its name to the Patriot. The paper was published as the Patriot until 1843 when William F. Switzler bought it and changed the name to the Statesman. Under the editorial management of Mr. Switzler, the Statesman became one of the best weekly newspapers in the State. The Gazette and the Intelligencer were the two most notable early newspapers of Missouri. Soon other papers were established and the number increased rapidly. In 1839 there were twenty-five papers published in the State. The number had increased to fifty-four in 1850; to 162 in 1860; and to 251 in 1870.

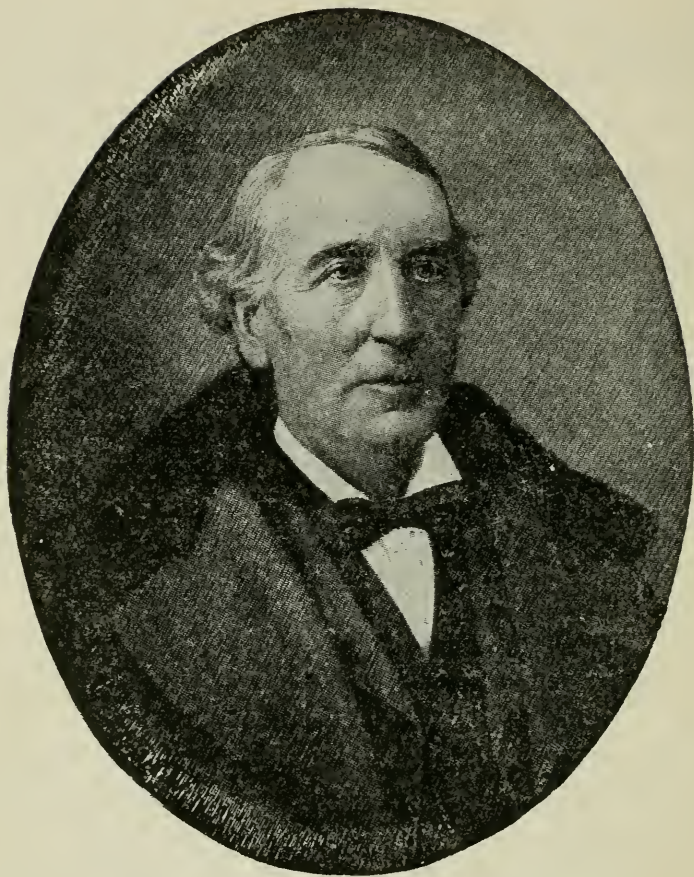
The editors of early Missouri newspapers had many trials and hardships. Paper and supplies had to be brought long distances, and transportation was very irregular. The mails were uncertain and frequently the editors complained of lack of news because the mail had not arrived. Newspaper quarrels were frequent and the editors were often challenged to a duel or were attacked. Subscriptions were hard to collect. Financial embarrassment was frequent.

Political enemies were always on the alert to make editors trouble.² Many papers were started but failed to receive sufficient support to enable them to continue publication.

The Republic. Although the Republic has ceased to exist, it is of sufficient importance historically to entitle it to a separate paragraph in an account of Missouri newspapers. It was the first paper established west of the Mississippi and was published continuously in St. Louis until it was purchased by the Globe Printing Company in 1919. There is a complete file of the Republic, from 1808 until its publication ceased in 1919, in the library of the Missouri State Historical Society, Jefferson Memorial Building, St. Louis. These files constitute the most valuable single source on Missouri history in existence.

The paper was established as the Missouri Gazette by Joseph Charless, July 12, 1808. James C. Cummins bought the Gazette in 1820 but after two years sold it to Edward Charless, son of Joseph Charless, who changed the name to Missouri Republican. Nathaniel Paschall in 1828 became associated with Edward Charless as owner and editor. Charless and Paschall published the paper until 1837. From

² A good example of political activity against newspapers is the action of the "Hards" against the Boonville Register in 1844. The Democratic party in the State had split into two factions, the "Hards" and the "Softs." The Boonville Register was the most influential "Soft" paper in the State, outside of St. Louis. Dr. Penn, of Saline County, a leading "Hard" politician, found that the editor of the Register owed a note, then past due, secured by a mortgage on his press. The first week in January Dr. Penn bought that note and forced the editor to cease the publication of the Register until after the Democratic State convention which met the first week in April. In the meantime the contest for the control of the party had been won by the "Hards." After the convention the editor of the Register was allowed to resume publication.



GEORGE KNAPP

the ninth of April, 1833 it was issued twice each week. The first number of the daily Republican made its appearance September 20, 1836. The subscription price of the daily was ten dollars. The publication of the weekly and the semi-weekly was continued, the former at three dollars and the latter at five dollars a year. In 1837 Charless and Paschall sold the Republican to A. B. Chambers, Oliver Harris, and George Knapp.³ Harris soon sold his interest to Cham-

³ George Knapp was born in Montgomery, New York, September 25, 1814. His father moved to St. Louis in 1820. When George was twelve

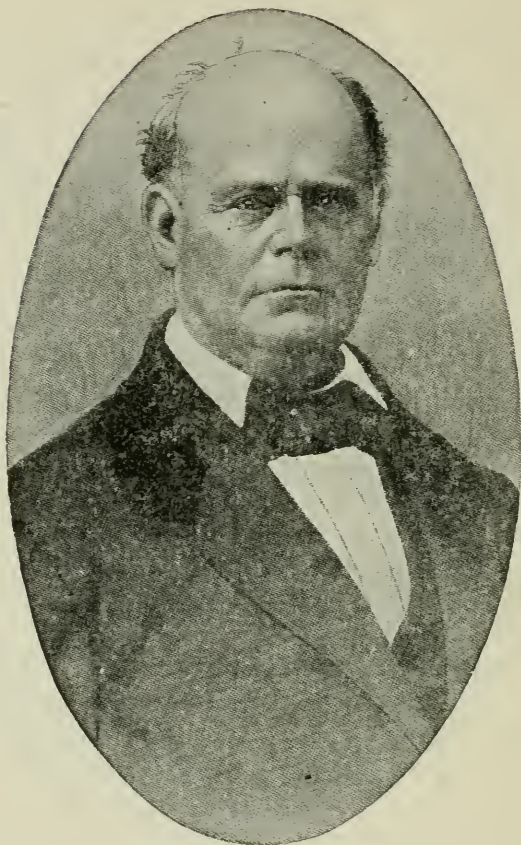
bers and Knapp who owned and published the paper until the death of Mr. Chambers in 1854, when Nathaniel Paschall,⁴ who had again become connected with the paper as associate editor, became editor-in-chief. The next year George Knapp admitted his brother John Knapp and Mr. Paschall to an interest in the business and the firm became George Knapp and Company. Mr. Paschall continued to direct the columns of the Republican until his death in 1866 when William Hyde,⁵ who had been on the editorial staff for ten years, became editor. The Republican was a

years of age he was apprenticed to Edward Charless to learn the trade of printer. From 1827 to 1837 George Knapp worked on the Republican force. In the latter year he bought the paper taking as his partners A. B. Chambers and Oliver Harris. Harris soon sold his part to Knapp and Chambers who owned and published the Republican until Chamber's death in 1854, when George Knapp became sole owner. He soon admitted his brother John Knapp and Nathaniel Paschall to an interest in the paper and the firm was known as George Knapp and Company. In 1877 the St. Louis Merchants Exchange celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of Mr. Knapp's entrance into the Republican office and placed his portrait in their hall.

Mr. Knapp's connection with the Republican began when St. Louis was a town of about 5,000 and he was owner of the paper before the population was 15,000. He directed its policy until the city could boast of nearly 500,000 inhabitants. Probably no man exerted a greater influence in changing St. Louis from a small town to a great metropolitan city than George Knapp. His paper was always a powerful force for improvement and progress.

⁴ Nathaniel Paschall was born in Knoxville, Tennessee, April 4, 1802. His father came to St. Louis in 1814 and apprenticed Nathaniel to Joseph Charless to learn the printer's trade. He worked faithfully, studied hard, and soon began writing articles for the Gazette. He became part owner of the Republican in 1828 but sold his interest in 1837. He accepted a position as associate editor in 1844 and became editor in 1854, and held the position till his death in 1866.

⁵ William Hyde was born in Rochester, New York in 1836. He taught school, came west and studied law, and soon became a newspaper corre-



NATHANIEL PASCHALL

Whig paper until 1856 when it became Democratic. Its name was later changed from Republican to the Republic to keep people from thinking it was a Republican paper.

The Globe-Democrat. The history of the Globe-Democrat can be traced back to the Workingman's Advocate which was established in 1831. It soon became the

spondent and editor. In 1857 he accepted a position with the Republican and became editor of the paper upon the death of Mr. Paschall in 1866. He proved himself to be a worthy successor of Nathaniel Paschall and soon took rank among the leading editors of the nation.

Argus and was purchased in 1840 by Shadrick Penn who changed its name to the Reporter. Upon the death of Mr. Penn in 1846 the Reporter became the Union. The Union was purchased by William McKee, editor of the Signal, in 1853. The Signal, which had been established in 1849, was now merged with the Union and the Missouri Democrat, a Benton paper which had been established in 1852, and became the Democrat. Frank P. Blair was its chief editor. His principal associates and successors were B. Gratz Brown and W. S. McKee. The Democrat became a Republican paper between 1856 and 1860. Blair and Brown severed their connection with the paper in 1865 and it became the property of W. S. McKee, George W. Fishback and Daniel M. Houser, the firm name being McKee, Fishback & Co. In 1872 Mr. Fishback became dissatisfied with the management of the Democrat and forced the sale of the paper through a receivership. He bought it at \$464,100. Messers McKee and Houser immediately established the Globe, which soon became a strong competitor of the Democrat. Both papers were Republican in politics and it soon became apparent that one must fail unless their interests were united. The contest was ended by McKee and Houser buying the Democrat for \$325,000. The two papers were consolidated and took the name Globe-Democrat. J. B. McCullagh,⁶ managing editor of the Globe,

⁶ J. B. McCullagh was born in Dublin, Ireland in 1842. He came to New York in 1853 and was apprenticed in a newspaper office for five years. At the end of his apprenticeship he came to St. Louis. He became a reporter on the Democrat in 1859. He was one of the most daring and successful war correspondents during the Civil War. It was McCullagh who initiated the practice of interviewing. In 1868 he became editor of the Cincinnati Enquirer. Two years later he resigned to found the Chicago Republican. The next year he lost everything in the great fire.

became editor and directed the publication of the paper until his death in 1896. The Globe-Democrat soon became one of the leading newspapers of the nation. The owners organized a corporation under the name Globe Printing Company. In 1919 the Globe Printing Company purchased the Republic. There was no consolidation. The Republic ceased to exist and its subscribers received the Globe-Democrat instead. In 1917 the daily circulation of the Republic was 107,168 while that of the Globe-Democrat was 151,908. In 1920 the circulation of the Globe-Democrat was as follows: daily 198,983, semi-weekly 226,401, Sunday 189,447.

The Post-Dispatch. The Post-Dispatch was the first successful St. Louis evening paper. The St. Louis Evening Gazette was established in 1838. After a great many changes in both ownership and name the paper, then called the Dispatch, passed into the hands of a receiver. It was sold to Joseph Pulitzer⁷ for \$2,500, December 10, 1878. He con-

He immediately returned to St. Louis and secured a position as editor of the Democrat. He resigned that position to accept the editorial management of the Globe in 1873. Upon the consolidation of the Globe and the Democrat he became the editor of the Globe-Democrat. When he assumed editorial management of the Globe-Democrat the paper was \$200,000 in debt and there were eight morning dailies in St. Louis. In three years the Globe-Democrat paid off the debt and accumulated a reserve of \$90,000. "To McCullagh the Globe-Democrat became home, family, recreation, as well as work. A clocklike routine governed the physical to the neglect of the laws of health." He achieved his ambition and lived to see the Globe-Democrat a great newspaper, but he died at fifty-four years of age when he should have been in his prime.

⁷ Joseph Pulitzer was born in Vienna, Austria; fought when quite young in the Schleswig-Holstein war; came to New York in 1864; and enlisted in the Union army on the day of his arrival. After the war he came to St. Louis where he was successively a hostler, fireman on a ferry-

solidated it with the Evening Post, and the new paper took the name, Post-Dispatch. Joseph Pulitzer proved to be a brilliant and successful journalist. The circulation was 3,160 when Pulitzer first issued the paper as the Post-Dispatch. Within two years and a half the circulation had passed 20,000 and the paper was an assured success. Pulitzer was fearless and became the founder of what is known as yellow journalism. During the first three years of its existence the Post-Dispatch was the defendant in seventeen libel suits aggregating damage claims to the amount of \$250,000. It lost but one suit, and the damage assessed was fifty dollars. The Post-Dispatch has continued to prosper and in 1917 it had a week day circulation of 187,427 and a Sunday circulation of 364,894.

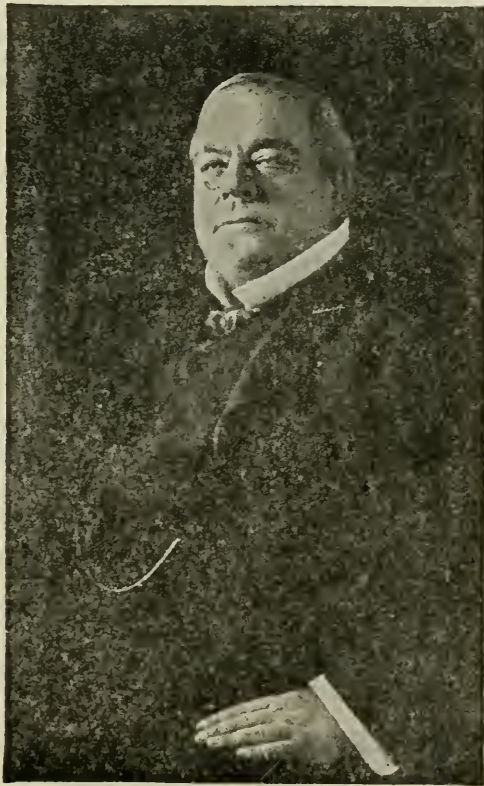
boat, laborer on the levee, and sexton. He had received a classical education in Austria and his chief efforts were now directed towards acquiring a thorough knowledge of the English language. He attracted the attention of Carl Schurz and was offered a position on the Westliche-Post of which Schurz was at that time editor. Pulitzer proved to be an excellent writer and in six years was editor and part owner of the paper. He sold his interest and retired from the Westliche-Post in 1872. He was very active in the Liberal-Republican movement; framed the call for the national convention of Liberal-Republicans; and made speeches in New York City during the campaign. It was during this campaign that Pulitzer first met Manton Marble, editor of the New York World, and became interested in that paper which was continually losing money for its owners. Mr. Pulitzer was elected to the Missouri legislature in 1869, was appointed police commissioner for St. Louis in 1870 and was elected a delegate to the constitutional convention of 1875. The provision of the constitution uniting the city and county government of St. Louis and giving the city rank as a county was Pulitzer's scheme. In 1883, after owning and editing the Post-Dispatch for a little more than three years Pulitzer bought the New York World, which at that time had less than 10,000 circulation. He made it one of the greatest papers in the country; amassed a great fortune and remained editor until his death, a period of nearly thirty years.

The Kansas City Star. The Kansas City Star was established by William R. Nelson⁸ in 1880. It has grown to be one of Missouri's greatest newspapers. When it first appeared it was an evening paper and was nicknamed the "Twilight Twinkler." It was a paper of four small pages and sold for two cents or ten cents a week delivered by carrier, while other papers were selling at five cents. The Star was soon enlarged, but the price remained ten cents a week. In 1894 the Sunday edition was added without increase of price, and in 1901 the Kansas City Times was purchased by Mr. Nelson and issued as a morning edition without extra charge. The subscribers to the Star were now receiving thirteen papers each week delivered by carrier for ten cents. This feat has never been equaled in the history of American journalism. In 1890 Mr. Nelson established the weekly Kansas City Star. It was an eight page paper for farmers and was sold for twenty-five cents a year. It now (1920) has a circulation of nearly 350,000. January 1, 1918, President H. J. Waters, of the Kansas State Agricultural College and one of the best known educators in the field of agriculture in the United States, was employed as editor. Mr. Nelson was the first man to issue a complete farmer's weekly for twenty-five cents a year.

Lee in his *History of American Journalism* says, "William Rockhill Nelson was one of the most picturesque

⁸ William Rockhill Nelson was born in Indiana, March 7, 1841. He decided to become a lawyer and was admitted to the bar before he was twenty-one, but he never practiced law. He tried raising cotton in Georgia but failed. He then went back to Indiana and began building roads, bridges, and buildings. He soon became a successful contractor. Finally he bought a Fort Wayne newspaper, and found his calling. He decided to find a better location for his paper and after a thorough investigation selected Kansas City. His biography from that time on is a history of the Star. He died April 13, 1916.

figures among makers of American newspapers." Collier's Weekly in its obituary notice said, "The founder and editor of the Kansas City Star took his place in journalism's hall of fame by kicking in the door with hobnailed boots." The Star has always stood for good government and has fought the liquor interests and all forms of gambling and commercialized vice. It has always favored public improvements. Mr. Nelson has been credited with having pulled Kansas City out of the mud by means of the Star. When he established the Star in 1880 Kansas City had 60,000 inhabi-



WM. R. NELSON
Editor of the *Kansas City Star*

tants but no paved streets and only a few plank sidewalks. The Star continually urged these improvements. In 1881 the Star began advocating parks and boulevards. "For fifteen years through the Star the people of Kansas City had parks and boulevards for supper every night." Finally one park was provided, then another and another, and now Kansas City boasts of having the finest system of parks and boulevards in America. The Star has been listed as one of the six best newspapers in the United States. In 1917 its circulation was as follows: morning 238,067, evening and Sunday 210,841, weekly 338,118.

Other City Newspapers. Besides the papers described above there are in the State a number of other successful city dailies which deserve mention. In St. Louis the Times was established in 1907 and has a circulation of 106,552. In Kansas City the Journal was established in 1854 and has a daily circulation of 47,908 and the Weekly Journal has a circulation of 253,275. The Kansas City Post was established in 1906 and has a daily circulation of 135,440. Joplin has two dailies: the Joplin Globe established in 1896, circulation 22,059; and the News Herald established in 1872, circulation 14,748. Springfield has two dailies: the Republican, established in 1892, circulation 11,394; and the Leader established in 1867, circulation 11,901. St. Joseph has two dailies: the Gazette established in 1845, circulation 18,354; and the News Press, established in 1879, circulation 39,845. There are seventy-three dailies in the smaller cities of the State.

The Country Newspapers. There are 735 weekly newspapers in the State. Nearly all of these are country newspapers and many of them are published in the county seat

towns. The country newspaper reaches only a few hundred subscribers, but its influence is frequently very great. Usually the readers of a country newspaper are personally acquainted with the editor, and the editorial column carries greater weight than would the writing of a stranger. Many of Missouri's greatest editors were country editors. Many of Missouri's country papers contain interesting articles on Missouri history and biography, literature, and current topics. They are to their readers frequently newspaper and magazine combined. They are now collected, bound and kept by the State Historical Society of Missouri in its fire proof library building at Columbia. They form a very valuable source for Missouri history.

Missouri's Contribution. Missouri has contributed much to the development of journalism in America. In 1914 there were 1004 periodicals published in the State. Their total circulation reached the enormous figure of 9,098,333. Probably no other state except New York has produced six newspaper men in the past one hundred years that will rank with Nathaniel Paschall, George Knapp, William Hyde, J. B. McCullagh, Joseph Pulitzer, and William R. Nelson. Missouri gave to America the first School of Journalism. This school was established in Columbia, July 1, 1908. This was the first school of its kind in the United States and it is also the largest. The Missouri School of Journalism was founded for the purpose of training men and women in practical journalism. During the first ten years of its existence it graduated one hundred and eighty persons and gave instruction to more than one thousand who did not graduate. Many other universities have followed the example of the University of Missouri in

establishing schools of journalism, while hundreds of colleges, normal schools, and high schools have established courses in journalism in connection with the instruction in English. Many school and college papers are now edited by classes in journalism. The influence of Missouri's School of Journalism has been felt throughout the United States and in foreign countries. Its graduates have edited papers in many states of the Union, in Canada, Hawaiian Islands, Australia, China, and Japan.

Questions

1. Name some of the ways in which newspapers have aided in the development of the State.
2. What were the two most prominent early Missouri newspapers? Who was the first editor of each?
3. How many newspapers were there in Missouri in 1839? 1850? 1860? 1870?
4. Give a sketch of the history of the Republic.
5. Sketch the history of the Globe-Democrat.
6. What new type of journalism was introduced by the editor of the Post-Dispatch?
7. Who established the Kansas City Star? When?
8. What new records were made in journalism by the Kansas City Star?
9. What is meant by the quotation from Collier's Weekly concerning Mr. Nelson?
10. Name the important city dailies of the State.
11. How many daily papers are published in Missouri?
12. How many weekly papers are published in Missouri?
13. How many periodicals of all kinds are published in the State? What is their total circulation?
14. Where are most of the weekly papers published?
15. Name six of Missouri's great newspaper men.
16. How has Missouri led in journalism?

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